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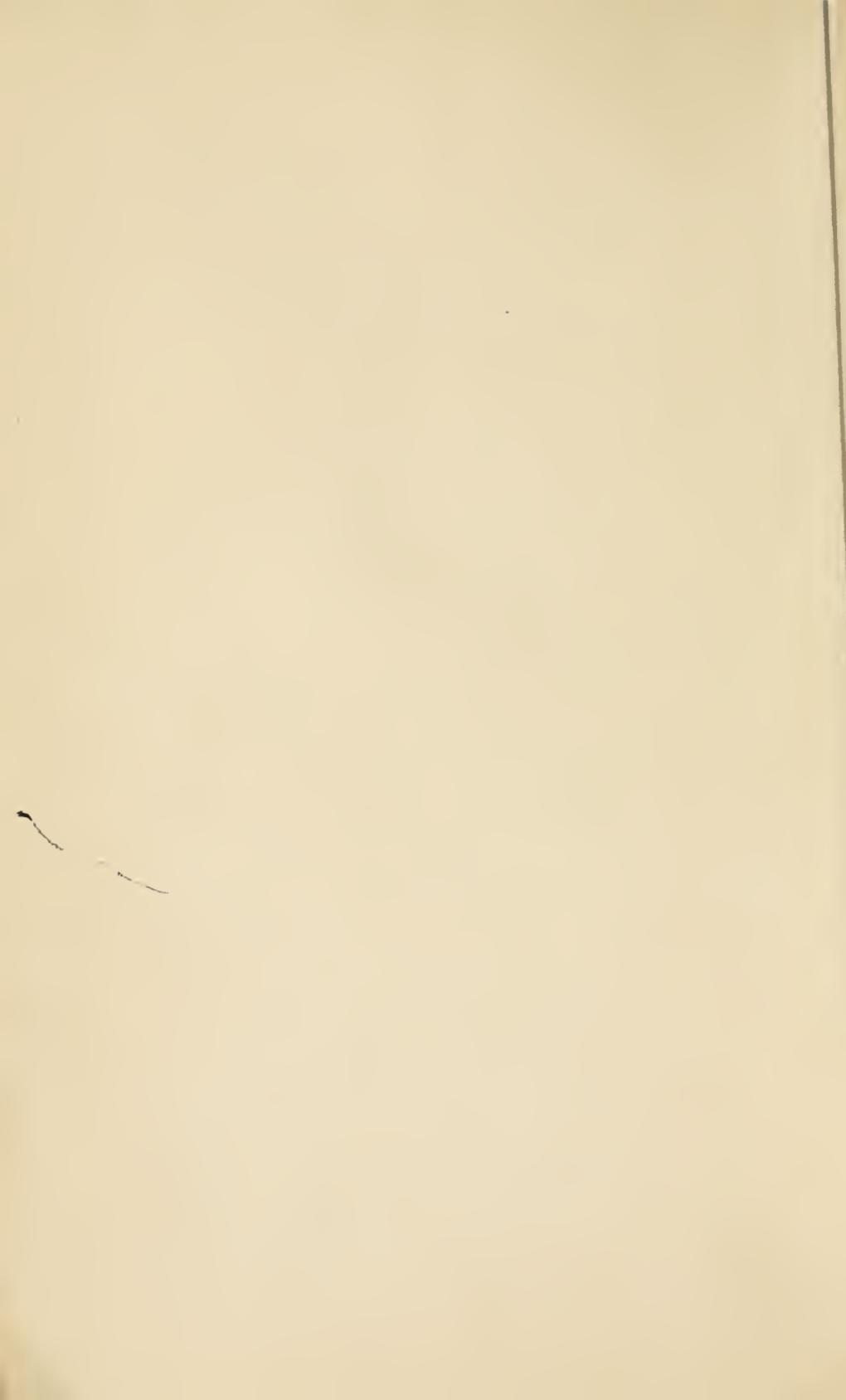


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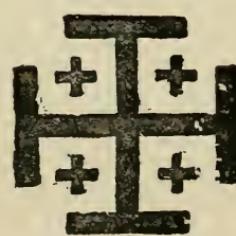
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Translated

BY

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there? the setting free of her Son from the hands of the Jews? or what else? To him the Virgin would answer: 'I know that my Son is so clever and eloquent, that were He brought before a common judge He could gain an acquittal and be set free, yet withal He is gentle and harmless and silent, even as a lamb before the shearer, and will not open His mouth in His own defence. Moreover He is so sweet and lovable that I have good hope that they will have compassion on Him, and that He will be given back to me. Wherefore I stand here full of anxiety, that I may see the end, and whither He will be led; if to life, I will live with Him; if to death, I will go forth and die with Him.' Devout men say also that Peter, after he had denied his Lord, as he came out of the house sobbing and weeping, came to that corner, and through shame and grief he could not speak to the Virgin, nor could the Virgin speak to him, and so he ran on to the cave whereof I have spoken before. We kissed this corner and received indulgences (†).

THE PLACE WHERE THE APOSTLE ST. JAMES THE GREAT WAS BEHEADED BY HEROD AGRIPPA.

At the aforesaid corner we turned our backs to the church of Sion, and went down a long street leading westward, through many ruins of great walls, and we again came to a house which, like the last, is also a monastery. We knocked, and were let in, and entering the church we bowed ourselves to the earth in prayer. Then the priests of the church came to us and led us to a chapel on the left side of the church, which was the place (*b*) where Herod Agrippa beheaded the Apostle St. James the Great, the brother of John, as we read in the twelfth chapter of the Acts. This was James the Great, the brother of John,

the kinsman of Christ, the third of the Apostles in the order of their calling, the secretary of our Lord, the first of the Apostles to be martyred, whose body was carried by his disciples to the sea at Joppa, from which place they were miraculously wafted across the sea to Compostella, where at this day it is visited by all Christ's faithful people. In this place we recited antiphons and the rest of the appointed service, and received indulgences (†). This church is great and lofty, insomuch that it overtops every other church which is in Jerusalem, and is seen before them, for the first thing which one sees is the dome of this church. It has no windows, but light comes through an opening in the top, and fills the church. There are many chapels round about it, which are now ruined and desecrated. In the church itself hang many lamps, and in the midst there hang a hundred and twenty lamps in one chandelier. All the Easterns have many lamps in their churches, so that the vaults of the roofs are full of ropes and chains. In the wall of this church, on the outside, is an opening, or blind window, or closet, in which lie two great round stones, which were brought from Mount Sinai, and they say that angels brought them to the Virgin for her spiritual consolation, to the end that, as it was not fitting that the Virgin should make so long a pilgrimage, or should leave Jerusalem, she might nevertheless worship the holy Mount Sinai in these stones. This is a cathedral church, and has an archbishop and canons of the Armenian rite : howbeit, they are called Jacobites, and owe allegiance to the Church of Rome. The Archbishop is a grave man, handsome and reverend to behold, and we would fain have conversed with him, but could not understand one another's language. These Jacobites are not such dark-skinned men as the other Eastern Christians.

THE PLACE WHERE CHRIST, WHEN HE WAS RISEN FROM
THE DEAD, MET THE WOMEN, SAYING, 'ALL HAIL!'

When we had seen the things aforesaid we came out of that monastery and went further along the street, and on our way we came to a place where a great stone is set up in the public road. This stone was thus set up by the Christians of old on that spot, because at that place on that road the Lord appeared to the three Maries when they were coming back from the sepulchre, saying, 'All hail!' and they came and held Him by the feet, and worshipped Him, as we read in the twenty-eighth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel. So here we bowed ourselves to the earth, and kissed the place which Christ's feet had trod, and the stone, and received indulgences (†). Once there stood here a great church which the Saracens have destroyed, as they have done many other churches. Past this stone goes the way down from Mount Sion to [104a] the Lord's sepulchre, so that every day we pilgrims used to pass by this place, and I have sometimes passed by it six times in one day. It is the custom of all pilgrims, that whosoever they pass by any holy place, even when they have no set purpose of visiting holy places, they kiss the place and go their way. So whenever we passed by the aforesaid stone, we used to kiss it; but the Saracens who lived in a house over against the stone, seeing this, and being jealous of the devotion of the pilgrims, came by night and daubed the stone over with ordure, making it utterly foul and disgusting for us to kiss. Yet notwithstanding this one of the pilgrims wiped the stone with his clothes in a place where we could reach it to kiss it, so that we paid the place no less reverence, nay, even more, to the confusion of the Saracens. This dishonour was done to us by the Saracens at many holy places in Jerusalem and elsewhere.

THE CITADEL OF DAVID WHICH ENDS THE MOUNT SION
TOWARDS THE WEST.

Not much further, as we went towards the west, we came to the corner of Mount Sion, where it ends towards the west, and there stands the citadel of David. It stands there at the present day, an exceeding strong and fair castle and place of strength, on the top of a steep rocky crag, and round about it are ditches which were always naturally deep on that side on which the Mount Sion joins the city; at which place was Millo. On the south side it is fenced at the present day by a deep valley: the castle also has high walls, and many towers and iron-barred gates. On another day I saw the whole of the castle on the inside. So now we stood still and gazed at the citadel of David, so often spoken of in Scripture, and Millo; and there we mused upon how Jerusalem must have looked in the days of old, for now it has been spoiled by its many sieges, and its deep valleys are filled up with heaps of ruins which have fallen into them. Close by the citadel of David is a way down into the city, and to the holy sepulchre, through a long street.

THE PLACE WHEREIN THE APOSTLES WERE SEPARATED
FROM ONE ANOTHER THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

When we had gazed our fill upon the citadel of David, we turned about, setting our backs to the west, and returned by the way by which we came as far as the corner where the blessed Virgin stood waiting, as is told on page 103 *a*. From this corner we went on a little way towards the south, and came to a place where the roads cut one another in the form of a cross, so that a man standing in the midst of the cross made by the roads, could go to the east or to the west, to the north, or to the south. Here is the place

where the Apostles separated : for they had talked with the blessed Virgin in the upper chamber about their being scattered abroad throughout all the world, according to the commandment which was given them in the last chapter of St. Mark's Gospel. So after they had received the Holy Ghost, [b] and they had preached the Gospel throughout all Judaea, and some years had passed, forced by the persecution of the Jews, on the fifteenth of July, at the bidding of the blessed Virgin, they prepared to set out, carrying with them nothing save the articles of their faith, which the twelve Apostles had put together in that first council which they had held on Mount Sion. When the hour of their departure drew nigh, they bowed themselves with great reverence before the feet of the most blessed Virgin Mary, asking for her blessing and leave to depart, and the Virgin raised them up, embraced each of them, gave them her blessing and, herself in tears, sent them weeping on their way. They all came forth from the upper chamber together, till the men who were about to preach of the cross stood at that cross in the roads, and there, rushing into each other's embrace, and kissing one another they parted from one another with many tears, and were separated throughout the whole world, three going to the east, three to the west, three to the south, and three to the north, to the four quarters of the world. Matthew, Thomas and Bartholomew, with their disciples and followers went towards the east ; Peter, Andrew, and James the Great to the west with their followers. To the south went James, John and Matthias, with their disciples, and to the north went Simon, Thaddaeus and Philip with their followers, all of them preaching everywhere, that they might glorify the four quarters of the world with the doctrine of the Trinity. So we stood in this place and gave thanks to God, who from this place sent forth the holy Apostles into all the

world, glorying in whose faith we had returned thither. We bowed ourselves down to the earth, and received indulgences (†). In this place the sad separation and schism of my brethren of the convent of Ulm occurred to my memory, at which I myself was present, for it took place in the year of our Lord 1476, on the very day when the Apostles were divided. For because we clave unto the Pope our Lord, and to the Roman church, as was meet, right, holy, and indeed necessary for us to do, we were forced to leave our convent and the city of Ulm, and were scattered abroad throughout the convents of the province, because we would not act profanely and contrary to the apostolic command, and held by the interdict which had been laid upon the country, and acknowledged the bishop given and confirmed by the pope, not him who was elected by the chapter and upheld by the Emperor. We remained in exile for three months, and then, after peace had been made again, we were recalled with great glory and honour. Wherfore we decreed that while the convent lasted, the day of the division of the Apostles should always be celebrated as a double feast, for a perpetual memorial of this thing, that those who came after us might learn and know that they must not disobey the command given to the Apostles out of fear of any tribulation, but rather go into exile, nay, even die. We endured many things during the time of the interdict, which lasted for about two years ; but enough of this.

THE ORATORY OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST, WHEREIN
HE CELEBRATED MASS, AND ADMINISTERED THE
SACRAMENTS TO THE VIRGIN MARY.

[105 a] Leaving the aforesaid place, we next came to a very sacred place, where once stood an oratory, wherein St. John the Evangelist daily celebrated Mass as long as

he remained in Jerusalem after our Lord's ascension, and administered the sacrament to the most blessed Virgin Mary, who had been commended to his care by our Lord from the cross, which sacrament she daily received with the greatest piety. Forasmuch as the sacraments of the new law were appointed and ordained to be received by all men, she, albeit full of grace, nevertheless received them from the hand of John, her own priest, in his parish, which was here. The most blessed Virgin took the sacrament (1) because of her humility ; (2) to avoid giving offence ; (3) to fulfil the command ; (4) because of the doctrine of supererogation ; (5) for the confusion of those heretics who declared that she was an angel and not a human being ; (6) for the instruction of those who are made perfect. She nevertheless partook daily in an especial manner of the sacrament of penance, and every day, according to tradition, received the sacrament of the eucharist in this place from the hands of St. John. Though she was free from all sin, yet she often made the sacramental confession, not accusing herself of any crime, nor yet acknowledging herself to be ungrateful for the benefits conferred upon her, which is the usual confession of holy men who pass their lives without crime ; but confessing the insufficiency of her merits that she should have deserved such a manifestation of the grace of God, a reward¹ which she never could deserve *de condigno*, nor could any creature, although she deserved it *de congruo*.

* * * *

So we stood in this holy place and prayed devoutly, and we bowed ourselves to the earth and kissed the sacred footsteps, and received indulgences (†). There is no building now standing on this spot, save that there is a

¹ See Laurence's 'Bampton Lectures,' Sermon A., note, 3rd edit., Oxford, J. H. Parker, 1838.

dry stone wall round about it, and in the midst of it stands a great stone, having a place in it hollowed out with iron tools, wherein they say that St. John used to keep the chalice of the eucharist.

THE PLACE WHERE WAS THE HOUSE OF THE BLESSED
VIRGIN MARY, WHEREIN SHE DEPARTED FROM THIS
WORLD.

Leaving this place, we came at no great distance to another place enclosed with a higher dry stone wall, wherein tradition says that the house of the blessed Virgin stood, wherein she lived a domestic life for fourteen years. We are told in the Alcoran of Mohamet that she only survived five years, and that her years in all were fifty-three, as is said also by Nicholas de Cusa, Book II., chapter xv. Some say that she lived a longer, some a shorter time, after our Lord's ascension. When the end of her life was drawing nigh she begged John, who had come to visit her with the rest of the Apostles, to administer to her the sacrament of extreme unction, although she was not weak, or sickly, nor lacking strength, nor worn out with old age, and therefore was not bound to receive this sacrament [*b*], because it is administered only to the sick ; nevertheless she gave herself up to this privilege of immunity from weakness and concealed it until she came to the end of her life, just as she chose to conceal her privilege of virginity when she underwent the ceremony of purification enjoined by the law. Wherefore as she lay there with most burning love, with sweetest languor, she humbly received this sacrament, appointed as it was for sinners, and therein beheld the expression of the accomplishment of her victory in the past and of the fulness of her glory in the future : in the place of the remission of venial sins her preservation from all pain ; in the place of the alleviation

of sickness the glorification of her whole body. Having then received the sacrament she commended her soul into the hands of God, and departed from this life, while there stood round her bed the glorious company of the Apostles, and the spotless band of one hundred and twenty virgins, with many widows, to whom she left her body to be buried. Wherefore in this holy place we bowed ourselves down in prayer, chanted the appointed hymns of praise, and received plenary indulgences (††). This place is remarkable for being held in great reverence both by all Christians and by many Saracens, yet there is no building thereon save a dry stone wall. The Minorite brethren are using their endeavours with the Soldan to get leave to build a chapel and set up an altar in this place, for they dare not put any stones together with mortar without leave from the king, the Soldan, and they are in hopes of getting leave. I have since heard that when the brethren had got full license from the Soldan to work their will, and had been at great expense to build an oratory, those mad dogs the Saracens straightway broke into the oratory, and levelled the whole building with the ground ; wherefore the place at the present day is even as it was when I saw it.

THE PLACE WHERE ST. MATTHIAS WAS CHOSEN BY LOT AS AN APOSTLE IN THE PLACE OF JUDAS.

Not far from this place, as we went towards the church of Sion, we came to a red stone, where is the place wherein St. Matthias was chosen as an Apostle, as we read in the first chapter of the Acts, in the place of the traitor Judas, as whose successor he was chosen on this spot. Here we bowed ourselves to the earth in prayer, and received indulgences, singing the appointed hymns, and this place seemed all the more sacred and homely to us because his blessed body is kept among us in Germany in the city of Treves.

THE PLACE WHERE JAMES THE LESS WAS ORDAINED
BISHOP OF JERUSALEM.

Leaving that place we went on our way, and came to the wall of the brethren's cemetery. In the wall is a white stone marked with a cross, and that is the place where the Apostle James the Less was elected and ordained Bishop of Jerusalem, and where the first Mass was celebrated by him. For this Apostle was so holy a man, that after our Lord's ascension the Apostles conferred upon him the honour of being the first of their number to celebrate Mass in the presence of the Apostles, and they ordained him Bishop of Jerusalem, thinking that he would be more acceptable to the people of Jerusalem than any other, for because of his exceeding great holiness of life he was suffered to enter into the holy of holies, which no other Apostle was permitted to do. He was a Nazarite from his mother's womb, drank no wine or strong drink, never ate flesh, iron never came upon his head, he never was anointed with oil, never used baths, and always [106 a] wore linen. He knelt in prayer so often that he had hard skin on his knees like that on a man's heel. He was so greatly reverenced by the people by reason of his excessive holiness, that they used to strive one with another to touch the hem of his garment. It was a peculiarity of St. James that he was singularly like to our Lord, so much so that many were deceived by their likeness. In all the outlines of his body, and in his manner of conversation, in his face and in his life, he was as like to Jesus as though he had been His twin-brother; so that after our Lord's ascension many came up to Jerusalem from different parts of the world that they might see the Lord Jesus in the person of James. Among these was Ignatius the martyr, and St. Paul the Apostle, as we read in his Epistle to the

Galatians i. 19. For this cause he was called the Lord's brother. So in this place we said our prayers and received indulgences (†).

THE PLACE WHERE THE SEVEN DEACONS WERE
APPOINTED TO THEIR MINISTRY.

Straightway after this we came to the place which is customarily honoured on account of the choosing of the seven deacons, of whose choosing we read in the sixth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. For as the number of the faithful was multiplied after the sending of the Holy Spirit, there arose a murmuring about the daily ministration, and some were over-burdened and some neglected. Wherefore they chose seven men of approved lives, habits, and grace, whom they appointed to the business of ministration, among whom St. Stephen was the chief, being full of grace and courage. So much for this. Here we gave praise to God, said the appointed prayers, and received indulgences (†).

THE PLACE WHERE THE APOSTLES COMPOSED THE
CREED OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH IN TWELVE
ARTICLES.

Near the same place of election is believed to be the place where, after the coming of the Holy Spirit, the Apostles assembled a holy council, and gave the Church the twelve articles of her faith, which they had composed, for her to preach; by faith in which articles we all are saved, and made God's children by adoption. Wherefore this place deserves to be greatly reverenced. In it we confessed the true faith, and hastened onwards to other holy places.
[See page 152 b] (†).

THE PLACE WHIREEIN THE SARACENS SUPERSTITIOUSLY
HONOUR OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.

Round about the dry stone wall which encircles the base of the ancient church of Sion, there are certain places wherein the Saracens and Eastern Christians practise superstitious observances, more especially in a place near the place of the division of the Apostles, beneath a fig-tree, where there is a great heap of stones, to which Saracen women come every day, and burn incense upon a stone, and bury loaves of bread; for they declare that it is here, and not in Golgotha, where stands the church of the Holy Sepulchre, that the sepulchre of Jesus is—nay, they even look with scorn upon that church and the sepulchre therein, and do not look there, but here, for the sepulchre of Jesus, declaring that He who endured the cross, whom the Jews held to be Jesus, was indeed buried there below, but nevertheless that He was not Jesus, but another who was taken and put to death in His stead, and that He escaped, being the Son of God and of the Virgin, and therefore able to escape. He died here in peace, and was buried in this place, and here they call upon him to help them. For when they are in certain straits they betake them to [b] the Lord Jesus and the blessed Virgin Mary, yet not as believers, but with many superstitions, just as they oft-times send their infant children to the Christians to be baptized when they are sick, supposing that they will be healed or improved in bodily health by baptism, not understanding or believing anything about the true and particular effect thereof. I several times went to this pile of stones when I did not fear that any Saracen would come thither, and scattered the stones which had been put together to receive the fire, turned out the things which they had hidden beneath the stones, and so left the signs of my vengeance there.

THE GARDEN OF THE CONVENT OF THE BRETHREN OF
MOUNT SINAI.

Beyond this spot, near the Convent of Sion, but beyond its precinct, on the southern, eastern and northern sides, on a spur of Mount Sion, the brethren have a large garden, which last year, by the Soldan's leave, they bought from a Saracen for much gold. We entered this garden, and first came to the cemetery of the friars, where they bury their deceased brethren, and there we prayed for their souls. Next we observed several deep cisterns therein, which the brethren found after they had bought the garden and began to dig it up. These cisterns were filled with earth and stones, but they cleaned them, arranged gutters to lead to them, and in rainy weather collect most excellent water in them: for the water of the cistern, which is in front of their refectory, which I have mentioned before on page 97 *a*, is not sufficient to last them through the summer; indeed, it failed while I was living there; so the cisterns in this garden are very essential to them: for before they bought the garden they used to suffer greatly from want of water in dry hot years, but now that they own this garden they cannot want for water, which is thought to be a great thing in Jerusalem. In this garden, besides the cisterns, there are many trees of different kinds, such as figs, pomegranates, and the like, and pot-herbs for the use of the convent. This garden is square, and stands upon a spur of Mount Sion, where it has on the west side the convent, the church, and the ridge of the Mount Sion which is level with itself: on the other three sides it has valleys, and it is surrounded by a dry stone wall. On the south it has the valley of Aceldama and the Mount Gion, on the east the valley of Siloam and the Mount of Offence, and beyond it the valley of Jehoshaphat with the Mount of

Olives ; on the north it has Millo and the Holy City. We walked all round the enclosure, and looked over its wall down into the valleys and across them to the mountains beyond. The view is a delightful one to a man who knows the Scriptures. The wall which encloses the garden stands on the edge of steep stone cliffs, and there may be seen at this day the exceeding ancient wall of Sion, and the foundations of her towers, and many things lie there before one's eyes which are mentioned in Holy Scripture, which can hardly be understood by one who reads it, as for instance about Millo, about Gion, about the valleys, and so forth. While we thus stood looking about us on this height, there arose a conversation among the lay pilgrim knights which is worth recording. We had lain down upon the wall, and were looking toward Jerusalem and the valley of Jehoshaphat. [107 a] These laymen neglected all the things which lay before their eyes, and directed their gaze upon the temple which is called Solomon's Temple, admiring it and desiring to enter it and behold it, and they discoursed much one to another about how this temple had endured from the time of Solomon till the present day. While they talked thus I listened in silence, but after they had spoken long and unprofitably, I said to them : ' My lords and fellow pilgrims, what is the reason that you ask no questions, and make no remarks about the holy and wondrous sights which you have before your eyes, but your talk is only about a vain thing ? ' To this one of them made answer : ' We know this Temple of Solomon by common report, and we have nothing holier, nothing more glorious or more beauteous within sight. As for the mountains and valleys round about we do not care for them, nor do we know them,' and they spoke truly, for they did not as yet know the Mount of Olives. To this I answered : ' The Temple of Solomon is not in sight, for it

was long ago brought to nought, and this temple which you now see is the fourth temple which has been built on that spot since Solomon's Temple. But granted that it were the temple of Solomon, what have you to do with that temple? In it Christ is not worshipped, nay, He is blasphemed against daily, and Mahomet the accursed is praised. Was it for the sake of that abominable and desecrated church that you came to Jerusalem? Wherefore do you not look across the valley which is before you, and at the mount which is over against you? When they said that they did not know these places, I said: 'Lo, this valley is the valley of Jehoshaphat, into which all the world will be gathered together on the Day of Judgment, and that mount over against you is the Mount of Olives, from whence Christ ascended into heaven. Let us talk of these, let us admire these; these are things with which we have to do: but not a word about that accursed temple.' Then we began a profitable discourse about the smallness of the valley of Jehoshaphat, and about many of the like subjects. When we ended this talk we brought to an end our pilgrimage to the holy places on Mount Sion which are on its top. The other holy places on Mount Sion we visited on another day, as will appear hereafter. So we went home, everyone of us to his own place; the lay pilgrims to the Hospital of St. John, the clergy to the convent of the friars.

THE PRAISE AND DESCRIPTION OF MOUNT SION.

Mount Sion is very often mentioned in Holy Scripture. The Mount Sion stands on the south side of the holy city, and stands higher than the rest of the city, though not much higher. [b] In old times it was encircled by valleys on all sides, even on the side which looks towards the city of Jerusalem, so that between it and the city there was a

deep ravine, by which the city was cut off from the mount : and men used to cross from the city to the mount by a wooden bridge. The kings of Judah tried to fill up this ravine, that Sion and Jerusalem might be one city, and took great pains to bring earth thither. As the Mount Sion stands upon steep rocks on every side, they poured earth into the ravine from the direction of the city, and also towards the east, so that the earth might be raised to the height of the walls of rock, and gardens be made round Mount Sion even as there are at the present day. Wherefore that place between the two, which they strove to fill up with earth and raise to the level of the city, they called Millo, that is, the 'Filling-up,' whereof mention is made in 2 Sam. v. 9 ; 1 Kings ix. 24 ; and 2 Chron. xxxii. 5. Howbeit, this work was never fully completed, for some deep places have always remained between the two cities, and are there at the present day, as anyone may see who looks carefully for them in the garden of the friars and near the citadel of David. This mount begins at the Gate of the Waters or of the Fountain of Siloam on the east, and makes a half circle towards the south as far as the west, where was the tower of David, and at this day there is a castle there. Throughout the whole of this half circle there are steep rocks, and round the chord of that semi-circle also, which is Millo. Above this was the Mount Sion, and at this day it is so wide that the city of Bieberich would have room to stand thereon. On this mount, in very ancient times, there stood a citadel, which David took with much toil, and gave his own name to the city of Mount Sion, as we read in the eleventh chapter of the first book of Chronicles. This mount in the olden time was all but impregnable ; everyone who has read the books of the Maccabees knows what labours and troubles those most valiant men endured before they could drive out the

Gentiles from the citadel of Sion. It is because of the strength of Sion that Jerusalem is called the daughter of Sion in Scripture, because as a daughter is protected by her mother, and stands at her feet, even so Jerusalem is protected by Sion, and stands beneath it, as for instance : ‘Tell ye the daughter of Sion, Behold, thy King cometh,’ which means, ‘Tell ye the city of Jerusalem.’ This phrase, ‘the Mount Sion,’ wherever we meet with it in Scripture, is always to be taken in a good, never in a bad sense. Sometimes it means the state of supreme beatitude, the vision of the Divine essence ; sometimes the host of angels, sometimes the Church triumphant, sometimes the Church militant, sometimes only the elect of God in the Church, sometimes those who live the contemplative life, sometimes certain persons in holy orders, sometimes prelates, sometimes preachers. This is the mount whereof it is said : ‘The hill of Sion is a fair place, and the joy of the whole earth : on the north side lieth Jerusalem ;’¹ for, indeed, Jerusalem lieth on its north side. Also, ‘Walk about Sion, and go round about her ;’² also, ‘For the Lord hath chosen Sion ;’³ also, ‘The Lord loveth the gates of Sion more than all the dwellings of Jacob ;’⁴ and, ‘God will save Sion ;’⁵ and, ‘O that salvation were given to Israel out of Sion.’⁶ Again, David says in his own person, and in that of Christ : ‘I have set my King upon my holy hill of Sion ; I will preach the law,’⁷ and ‘Sion heard of it, and rejoiced.’⁸ Moreover, Isaiah speaks of [108 a] ‘Sion, the city of our strength ;’ and, ‘He shall give consolation to the mourners of Sion ;’ and, ‘For Sion’s sake I will not hold my peace ;’ and, ‘Sion, thy king reigneth.’ In many parts of Scripture also we are asked to ascend the hill of Sion, as in the

¹ Psa. xlviij. 2.² Psa. xlviij. 11.³ Psa. cxxxii. 14.⁴ Psa. lxxxvii. 2.⁵ Psa. lxx. 36.⁶ Psa. liii. 7.⁷ Psa. ii. 6.⁸ Psa. xcviij. 8.

second chapter of Isaiah : ‘Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord ;’ and he tells us what it is that we ought to go up to : ‘Sing ye unto the Lord, who dwelleth in Sion ;’ and, ‘They shall come into Sion with praise.’ Moreover, Isaiah, wishing to say something great about the mount, says : ‘And it shall come to pass in the last days that the mountain of the Lord’s house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills, and all nations shall flow unto it.’¹ This saying has been fulfilled by the celebration on this mount of the most profound mysteries, on account whereof people of all nations of the world flow thither. The Jews show great folly with regard to this text, and veil it in a darkness caused by their own error, for they try to prove from it that Jesus was not the true Messiah, because at His coming the Mount Sion was not raised to a pinnacle above all other hills. They say that in the time of the Messiah God will carry Mount Tabor and Mount Sinai and Mount Carmel to the place where Jerusalem now is, and will place Jerusalem and those three mountains one above another, and will place Mount Sion on the top of the topmost mountain. And because Christ did not do this, therefore they say that He is not the Messiah. But we ought to reply to these unhappy blinded men, that this raising up of the Mount Sion is not to be understood of the place, but of its exceeding glory, in that Christ would thereon do great and marvellous acts, such as the institution of the sacraments, and the sending of the Holy Spirit, and other works, as is clear. From all this it is evident that the Mount Sion is a mount of great height and loftiness, great strength and power, great plenteousness and fulness, great beauty and pleasantness, great trustiness and security, great wealth and riches, great joy and gladness, great

¹ Isa. ii. 2.

righteousness and equity, great purity and holiness, great doctrine and truth, great prophecy and telling of things to come. It is the mount of the completion of the Old Testament and the beginning of the New; the mount of the sacraments of Christ and of the gifts of the Holy Spirit; the mount of the Virgin Mary, whereon she dwelt, whereon she taught the Apostles, inspired the Evangelists, sent forth the Apostles to the world, and whereon she herself departed this life. The mount is at this day in the possession of Christians; it is a heritage of the clergy, a hospice for pilgrims: for thereon dwell only Christians, and no Saracen or Jew has any dwelling-place on the mount at this day, but there are only monasteries of Christian men thereon. Wherefore I one day asked a Saracen whom I knew well, why he did not build himself a house on Mount Sion rather than in Jerusalem, to which he answered: 'Because Mount Sion is a desert through its lack of water; because water can be had more easily and in greater quantity in Jerusalem than on Sion.' It may be that God has ordained that Saracens should lack water on this holy mount, whereas the Christians who dwell thereon have plenty. This mount is exceeding high, not indeed with respect to those round about it, but with respect [b] to those which are far away: for the mountains of Arabia, when seen from Mount Sion, seem to be low, albeit they are very high, and Mount Sion is far higher than the mountains of Arabia. The convent of the Minorite Brethren stands in a most pleasant, beauteous, and lofty place. Before they came to Jerusalem there was there a convent of Canons Regular, but after the loss of the Holy Land the King of Sicily bought this place on Mount Sion from the Soldan, and also the chapel of the Blessed Virgin in the Valley of Jchoshaphat, and the church at Bethlehem, with the monastery there, and gave for them in gold, paid

on the spot, thirty-two thousand ducats of approved weight. He also brought the Minorite Friars to Mount Sion, and entrusted to them the ownership and management of the aforesaid places : wherefore the Pope himself is wont often to constitute the Guardian of Mount Sion the Superior of the whole Eastern Church in those parts. The brethren have great privileges granted them by the Popes, whereof it does not belong to my subject to speak. The precincts of the convent of Mount Sion are very cramped, the church is small, the cloister narrow, the cells little. Yet albeit the house is small, twenty-four brethren dwell together therein, serving the Lord in a life spent under rule. Because of the insults and rage of the infidels, they have an iron door and beside the same fierce dogs, savage with strangers, who keep watch, and by their barking betray those who come thither to do any mischief, whether by day or by night. So much for this.

HERE BEGINNETH THE VISIT TO THE HOLY PLACES IN
THE CHURCH OF GOLGOTHA, THAT IS, OF THE HOLY
SEPULCHRE, AND TO THE HOLY SEPULCHRE ITSELF.

On the fourteenth day, beginning the day from the evening of the day before, because the procession to the holy places is appointed in that fashion, when the sun was setting, warning was given to all the pilgrims that they should straightway present themselves at the court or yard which lies before the (door of the) Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and that they should hurry over their supper, because the Moorish lords who keep the keys of the holy church were waiting for us there. So we made haste, and having taken with us the things which we meant to use, we came down to the court-yard of the aforesaid church, wherein we found a great disorderly crowd of Eastern Christians and Saracens—men, women, and children.

Also dealers in precious wares sat there and sold them, and some had loaves of bread, eggs, and grapes for sale, whereof we bought some, and put them in our scrips for the repast which we should take within the church. Now, as soon as all the Saracen lords who [109 a] had to do with the opening of the church were present at the door of that holy temple, they took their places gravely and seriously. Before the door on either side thereof great stones of polished marble have been placed for benches, upon which these men sat with their faces turned away. They were men of a fine presence, well stricken in years, handsome, wearing long beards, and of solemn manners, dressed in linen clothes, and with their heads wrapped round and round with countless folds of very fine linen. When all of us were collected together before those doors, they opened the church doors with their keys, and, standing beside them, let us in two by two, counting us even as they did when we came out of our ship on to the land, as aforesaid, and they looked at us very keenly. It is said of them that they are greatly skilled in the art of physiognomy, and that as soon as they look upon any man they perceive his station in life, his disposition, and his desires. We went by them with shame and blushing, because it is a great confusion that Christ's faithful worshippers should be let into Christ's church by Christ's blasphemers; and they let in whom they please, and kept out whom they please; for they drove away from the church doors with blows from their staves and fists many Christians of other rites who wanted to come in together with us. I confess that while I was passing between them into the church I was filled with confusion and covered with blushes, nor could I look them straight in the face by reason of the shame which I felt: not because of the badge of the cross which I bore on my clothes, but because of their unrighteous and impious

power over those who bear the cross. There sat those dogs, as though they were our judges, and doubtless judged us to be fools because of the cross of Christ, because the name and the sign of the cross is foolishness to them that are appointed to perish (1 Cor. i. 23). Thus, however, is it ordered by the Divine wisdom, that the followers of the Crucified shall be brought to the place where the cross stood by those who scoff at the cross, that by the foolishness of the cross they may believe and be saved. Now, as soon as we were all inside, the Saracens straightway pulled back the doors of the church quickly behind our backs, locked them with bolts and locks, as men are wont to do after they have pushed robbers violently into a dungeon, and went away with the keys, thus leaving us prisoners in the most delightful, lightsome, and roomy of prisons, in the garden of the most precious sepulchre of Christ, at the foot of the mount of Calvary, in the middle of the world. Oh how joyous an imprisonment! how desirable a captivity! how delightful an enclosure! how sweet a locking in, whereby the Christian is locked in and imprisoned in the sepulchre of his Lord!

HOW THE PILGRIMS BEHAVED WHEN THEY FIRST
ENTERED THE CHURCH, AND WHAT BEFELL BROTHER
FELIX FABRI ON HIS FIRST PILGRIMAGE.

Lo, my brethren! the truth compels me to begin by telling you of my own stupid carelessness and grievous irreverence, [b] for which I beseech you to pray to God on my behalf, that He may not lay up my misdeeds for punishment at the last. This was what befell me, unhappy wretch that I was, on my first pilgrimage. When we had been locked into the church, and no longer feared anyone, because no infidel was with us, we began in our joy to run to and fro through the church, seeking the holy places

without any regular order, and every man went whithersoever he would at the bidding of his own spirit. I did not hurry, but went with a slow step towards the middle of the church, walking without any set purpose, and after I had gone forward about seventeen paces I stopped, and, lifting up my face, looked at the vault above me. I cast my eyes upon the upper windows with curiosity, as ill-bred men stare about in strange places and houses without respect for anyone, and so I stood by myself with wandering eyes. As I stood thus thoughtlessly, there came to me two ladies who were pilgrims, one of whom was a German, Hildegarde by name, and they fell down before my feet and lay there weeping and sobbing, kissing the stone whereon I was standing. I was surprised and astonished, and said in German to her, ‘What is the matter, Lady Hildegarde, that you should do so?’ She answered me, scarce able to speak for weeping, ‘Lo, my brother! the stone whereon you stand is that whereon Joseph and Nicodemus laid the most precious body of our Lord when He was taken down from the cross, and they anointed Him and wrapped Him in His shroud upon this table of stone.’ When I heard this I trembled, and, drawing back my feet with horror, I fell on the earth before the stone. Now I scarce dared to touch with my mouth that which before I had not feared to tread irreverently upon with my shod feet. ‘O Lord!’ I prayed, ‘remember not the past sins of my youth, and the present sins of my ignorance. O Lord my God, Thy chosen servant Moses was bidden by Thee when in the desert of Midian to put his shoes from his feet because the ground whereon he stood was holy; and the holy Joshua did not dare to stand shod in the field of Jericho, yet I, who am devoid of all holiness, full of vices, have dared to trample with my shod feet all irreverently upon the place which Thou Thyself hast

sanctified with Thy most precious body, naked and wounded ; nor can I find any excuse, for we read that Uzzah was stricken dead by Thee because he put forth his hand to the wain which bore Thy ark when it was like to fall. And, behold, here we have incomparably more beneath our feet than the land of Midian, or the field of Jericho, and a stone which is more worthy of honour than the wain or the ark. Therefore, Lord God, have patience with me, and I will pay Thee all reverence and honour at Thy holy places, and will render to Thee whatever else is Thy due with all the piety of which I am capable, and which Thou Thyself shalt bestow upon me.' After having prayed thus I arose, and sought my lords and companions throughout the church, and I found them sitting together in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin, waiting till the procession should be formed. Now the Father Guardian called together all the pilgrims, and set forth to them the rules and customs of the Church, which he reduced to thirteen heads :

[110 a] First, he told us that every pilgrim must buy a wax taper, which he must carry lighted in the procession. For many merchants had come in with us having wax tapers and other things for sale.

Secondly, he bade the pilgrims take care to walk orderly in the procession, so that one should not get in the way of another or push against him, as also we were bidden to do in the sixth article delivered to us at Rama ; but forasmuch as in the procession now about to be formed there is more force and more pushing, therefore he here repeated this and several other commands given us there.

Thirdly, that we should consecrate this night to God, and take part in matins and other divine services without any slackness.

Fourthly, that we should not make the house of prayer

into a house of merchandise, and not sit and waste our time trafficking with the Eastern Christian merchants.

Fifthly, he begged all such as were priests to go and celebrate Mass without disputing one with another. For they are wont to quarrel about places, and all of them want to celebrate Mass in the holy sepulchre of our Lord, which is impossible in one day.

Sixthly, he appointed four altars for the celebrants—that is to say, one in the holy sepulchre, one on Mount Calvary, one at the place of the unction of Christ, whereof I have already spoken, and a fourth in the chapel of the Virgin Mary. Besides these there are many other altars in different parts of the church; but they belong to schismatics and heretics, wherefore we did not celebrate Mass at them.

Seventhly, he bade all pilgrims make ready to confess themselves, and every one of them take the Communion after the service.

Eighthly, he gave authority to all pilgrim priests, and to his own brethren who had entered the church with us, to hear confession both actively and passively, and to absolve from all sins, even from those reserved for the Holy See, for the Guardian of Mount Sion has this power delegated to him by the Pope.

Ninthly, he forbade any priest to administer the Eucharist to any pilgrim as he stood at the place where he celebrated Mass; but he ordered that all should receive the sacrament after High Mass on Mount Calvary from the priest who officiated there, unless he should grant any special privilege to anyone.

Tenthly, he warned the pilgrims not to lay down, or leave about their property while they were making the round of the holy places in the church, lest they should lose it, because thefts often took place here, whence suspicion and much disturbance arose.

Eleventhly, in case anyone should wish to give alms at the holy places, and in giving them should wish to favour the Catholics rather than the schismatics, he explained to them which were the places of the Catholics and which were those of the schismatics.

Twelfthly, he warned us that, as has been already treated of in the first of the articles delivcred to us át Rama, we must not break anything off at the holy places, neither must any man draw his coat-of-arms there, lest by their means holy places should be defiled.

Thirteenthly, he besought us that each of us would rouse himself to a spirit of lively devotion, and that we would profit by these most holy places, showing them that honour and reverence which is due to them. [b]

HERE FOLLOWETH THE PROCESSION ROUND THE HOLY PLACES IN THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE, AND FIRST THE PROCESSION TO THE CHAPEL OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN, AND THE DESCRIPTION OF THE SAME CHAPEL AND OF THE HOLY PLACES THEREIN.

Having thus received the rules by which we were to be guided while in the holy temple, we each of us went to the merchants, and everyone bought candles of the whitest of wax, great or small, ornamented or plain, as he pleased. There was no lack of vainglory even in this, for some had candles curiously twisted and decorated with gilding and painting, which they carried with ostentation, and looked with scorn upon those who carried plain candles, blaming them for closefistedness. Some bought many candles, which they lighted in the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre and then extinguished, and afterwards took them home with them to their own country, where they made their wives hold them lighted when they were in childbed, that

they might be delivered without danger, for they say that these candles are useful for that purpose.

Now, while we were busied about buying our candles, the brethren with the Father Guardian were arraying themselves, putting on their sacred vestments, which they had brought with them from Mount Sion, to make a solemn procession round all the holy places in the same order wherein they had made that on Mount Sion, as has been told on page 94 α .

So when we were all standing in order with our lights burning, the precentor at the head of the procession began in a loud and cheerful voice to sing the *Salve Reginā*, which we all took up, and chanting this hymn we came in procession to the chapel of the glorious Virgin Mary, to the altar in front of the chapel. In this place, according to ancient tradition, the blessed Virgin Mary remained from the hour in which her Son was taken down from the cross till that of His resurrection from the dead, and she did not enter again into the city of Jerusalem. For near the rock of Calvary there were in a garden several poor men's dwellings, even as at the present day there are gardens without the city, with houses in them, wherein the owners of the gardens dwell when they take their pleasure, but at all other times poor men inhabit them. So after the Lord Jesus, as He hung upon the cross, had commended His mother to the care of John, she was led away from the cross, but would on no account suffer herself to be led far away from the cross of her Son, or to enter the city, knowing that in all Jerusalem there was no lodging for her because of the shame of her Son, which was so great that men shrank even from receiving His mother into their houses. She, therefore, suffered herself to be led to a dwelling not far from the cross, that she might not fail to be with her Son when He was dying and giving up the

ghost, but might share all His agony; moreover, she wished to see and know what would be done with her Son's body after death, in order that if it were cast away, as were the bodies of other condemned persons, she might carry it off for herself, or that, if it were buried, she might be present at the burial, and perform the funeral offices, as, indeed, she did. For when she saw Joseph and Nicodemus making ready to bury her Son, she herself ran to them full of sorrow, and attended the burial, after which she was brought into this dwelling, and would not move further away from the spot. Indeed, other fond mothers are wont to do this for their beloved sons, and if they were suffered they would always remain weeping at the tombs of their dear ones, [111a] even as Mary Magdalen, who could hardly be torn away from the tomb of her brother Lazarus, as we read in the eleventh chapter of St. John. How much more, then, the most blessed Virgin Mary, who loved her Son incomparably more than any mother or friend could love their dear ones! It was, then, to this place that Christ first came after His resurrection. Vincentius, of the Order of Preaching Friars, tells us that when the Lord arose from the dead He sent the angel Gabriel before Him to announce to His mother the advent of her most glorious Son, immediately after which her Son Himself appeared, clothed in exceeding white raiment, with a cheerful countenance, beauteous, glorious, and joyous. His scars shone resplendent, His whole being seemed to rejoice, and He most fondly greeted her, leading after Him all the saints whom He had brought out of the nether world. But who can tell with what joy the glorious Virgin was possessed? Wherefore in this holy place we sang our hymns with joy, and when we had sung them and finished the service contained in the processional, we drew near to the place, and, kneeling there, received plenary indulgences (††).

THE PLACE WHEREIN IS KEPT PART OF THE PILLAR
AT WHICH JESUS WAS SCOURGED.

Thence, singing the appointed hymn, we went forward towards the right hand. Here is a sort of recess, or blind window in the wall, in which recess stands a large part of that most precious pillar to which the Lord Jesus was bound naked in the house of Pilate, and was cruelly scourged with whips and rods. We went up one by one, and touched the sacred pillar with our hands, passing them through an iron grating. Here, also, we received plenary indulgences (††). In old times this pillar was brought entire from the house of Pilate to the Mount Sion, wherefore Jerome says of Paula : ‘She’ (that is, the holy Paula), ‘was shown on Mount Sion the pillar which supported the porch of the church, which pillar was red with the blood of the Lord, and to which Jesus when in bonds was brought to be scourged.’ But after the destruction of the old church of Sion, as I have said before, one part was brought hither. A third piece is in the church of St. Praxede at Rome. A fourth is at Lyons in the church of St. Hyrcanus the Just, and other pieces of it beside these are to be found in churches in other parts of the world also. The piece which stands in this place is one palm and the thickness of three fingers in width, and four palms in height, and is of a purple colour, sprinkled with red spots. This is due either to the nature of the stone, or, as Jerome and Bede appear to think, to a miracle.

THE PLACE WHEREIN THE HOLY CROSS WAS KEPT AFTER
ITS INVENTION, BEFORE ITS LOSS.

In this place we turned to the opposite part of the chapel, and there also there is a recess in the wall, in which a piece of the most blessed cross was kept for two hundred

years. It was thickly studded with gold, silver, and jewels by the most illustrious Helena, who found it, and who, as she found it entire, caused it to be cut in two, and left one piece here, while she translated the other to Constantinople. As long as the holy cross stood in this place, the Eastern [b] Church prospered and increased, contained most holy men, and ever triumphed over the enemies of the cross of Christ; but as soon as it was taken away the Church dwindled and became a mere wreck. We did honour to this place, albeit it was empty, and we sang there the hymn of the holy cross which is in the processional: for though it was absent, we saw it as though it were present; for, as we thought, a certain virtue breathes forth from that reliquary, as though left behind there by the wood of the holy cross. Nor is this to be wondered at: for if after the wine has been poured out the vessel still retains the scent of the wine, even so this reliquary, wherein was enclosed the wood which hath the savour of life eternal, still retains the scent thereof. Indeed, that the place may be the more worthy of respect, they have set up a cross therein, which cross has a small fragment of the true cross of Christ inserted into it. We kissed this fragment, and received indulgences (†).

THE PLACE WHERE THE HOLY CROSS WAS PROVED TO
BE THE TRUE ONE BY RAISING A DEAD MAN TO
LIFE.

When we had finished our service in that place we set out, singing another hymn, to the middle of the chapel, where is the place whither the three crosses were brought after their invention, that it might be proved which cross was the cross of Christ. A dead man was brought, and at the touch of the cross of Christ he arose alive. Here is a chapel of the Latins, and no nation has any right therein

save only the Latins, and the guardians of the holy sepulchre, who represent the Latins, perform service therein. Behind this chapel they have chambers wherein they cook, eat, sleep, and do their needs. The Minorite Brethren generally have three brethren dwelling in that place. I have slept for many hours at a time in the dormitory of the brethren.

THE PLACE WHERE OUR LORD APPEARED TO MARY
MAGDALEN IN THE FORM OF A GARDENER.

After our visit to this chapel we went out of it in procession into the church, down four steps, and at the foot of the steps we straightway came to a place where there were two circles in the pavement, five paces distant one from the other, made of polished and variegated marble. We stood round about these circles, chanting the service proper for this place, as contained in the processional. This is said to be the place where the Lord Jesus appeared to Mary Magdalen in the form of a gardener. The Lord stood in the place where one of the circles is, and Mary where the other circle is. It was here that Mary fell at His feet, and that he would not suffer Himself to be touched, because He was not yet ascended to the Father, as may be read at length in the twentieth chapter of St. John's Gospel.

The event which here took place may inspire with zealous devotion the pilgrim who takes to heart the example set by Mary. As she did not find Him whom she sought in the sepulchre, she ran about all the corners of the garden, hither and thither, glowing with such a fire of love that she forgot her womanly weakness, and neither feared the black darkness nor the terrors of the persecutors, nor recked of the guardians of the place, but ran to and fro, weeping, panting, groaning. No doubt, had she been told,

[112 a] ‘Lo, He whom you seek has already crossed the Great Sea, passed over the Alpine mountains, withdrawn Himself from the east to the west, and is now in the furthest country towards the westward,’ she would, in spite of a thousand dangers, have straightway crossed the sea, have passed over the mountains, have scoured the west country, and have made her way even to Ireland, which is the furthest of all lands towards the west. But the gracious Lord appeared to her here, in this place, and never will hide Himself from those who come hither from the west through so many perilous lands and so many dangerous seas, that they may seek Him whom they love. I do not reckon the promise given in the eighth chapter of Zechariah : ‘Thus saith the Lord of hosts : Behold, I will save my people from the east country and from the west country, and I will bring them, and they shall dwell in the midst of Jerusalem ; and they shall be my people, and I will be their God.’¹

So here we bowed ourselves to the earth at the feet of the Lord Jesus, kissed His footprints, and received indulgences (†).

THE PLACE OF THE PRISON WHICH WAS NEAR TO THE
ROCK OF CALVARY, WHEREIN CHRIST WAS CON-
FINED AFTER HE LEFT THE JUDGMENT-HALL.

Leaving this place, we went on our way singing in procession, and entered a darksome chapel hewn out of the rock, which has no windows, but contains one altar within it, and has two small doors. This chapel in the time of Christ was a prison or lock-up near the Mount Calvary, built to the intent that condemned criminals appointed to die might be locked up therein while the instruments of their torture were being made ready, such as crosses,

* Zech. viii. 7.

gallows, wheels, wood for fires, and the like, and also that they might drink and make themselves drunk therein, for it was the custom that those who were to be punished with death should first be made drunk with the strongest wine, that they might fear death less, and endure their torments with greater courage: so, that they might drink the more deeply, they were shut in here with wine, that they might do so without shame. Wherefore when the Lord Jesus was brought out hither with His cross, they shut Him up in this cell, while the three holes were being made in the rock of Calvary for the three crosses, that in the meantime He might drink. They gave the Lord 'wine mingled with myrrh' (Mark xv. 23), which was exceeding bitter, wherefore He refused the proffered drink, as we are told in the same passage.

In this venerable cell we reflected, not without sorrow, how the Lord Jesus wept therein, and awaited the torture of the cross with equal dread and desire. We therefore entered it one by one, with sighs and groans, and each in turn bowed himself to the earth and kissed the footprints of our Saviour, and there we received indulgences (†).

THE PLACE WHERE THE SOLDIERS CAST LOTS FOR THE GARMENTS OF CHRIST, AND DIVIDED THEM AMONGST THEM.

Continuing our course, we passed on from the prison of Christ to another chapel with three blocked-up windows, where, after the Lord Jesus was fastened to the cross, His crucifiers stood and cast lots for what each one should take of the garments of Jesus, and they parted His raiment into four parts, one part for each soldier. [b] But His seamless tunic they cast lots for, because it would have been useless if cut. So they sat down in this place and

cast lots, showing great contempt for Christ. Here we were moved with compassion for the nakedness of Christ, and when we had finished chanting the service we kissed the place, and received indulgences (†).

THE SEAT WHEREON THE LORD JESUS SAT DURING HIS
DESPITEOUS CORONATION.

When we came out of that chapel we went forward to the places beyond, chanting a mournful hymn of the coronation of the Lord, how He was crowned with a crown of thorns, and we came to another dark chapel, whose only window was blocked up with stones, and wherein was a fair altar, unbroken, but without hangings, etc. Beneath this altar stands a round stone, which seems to have been a section cut out of a column. This stone at the time of Christ's passion stood in the house of Pilate, in front of the stable for mules, as a seat: for it was so arranged as to be convenient for sitting on. So when they wished to crown the Lord with a crown of thorns, they rolled this stone from its place to the prætorium, made the Lord Jesus sit thereon, and crowned Him with thorns while He sat upon this stone. After Christ's passion the faithful brought that stone hither, for a perpetual memorial of that most cruel and despiteous coronation. We therefore prostrated ourselves, and with worship of the Lord touched this stone with our hands, and kissed it with our mouths, and received indulgences (†). We recalled to our memory all that the Lord had suffered while He sat upon that stone, how the Lord Jesus was clad in mockery in a scarlet robe, holding a reed in His hand instead of a sceptre, crowned with a crown of thorns, blindfolded, spat upon, buffeted, smitten with men's hands, wounded with the reed, addressed with 'Hail,' called 'King of the Jews,' named a prophet, wounded by a thousand pricks of the thorns, exposed to

public derision, and how thus loaded with scorn He sat upon this stone like a king upon a throne, clearly showing that His kingdom was not of this world. Wherefore the saints do not recognise Christ as King, except as He sat crowned upon this stone. We read of St. Martin, that an evil spirit appeared to him, wearing a golden crown and a purple robe, and compassed about with splendour, saying that he was Christ. To him Martin answered: 'I know not Christ save wearing the crown of thorns and the marks of the cross.' Hearing this, the demon was confounded, and fled. We read likewise of St. Catharine, of Siena, that when she had been shamefully slandered by some wicked woman, she was troubled and betook herself to the Lord, beseeching Him to defend her innocence. Christ appeared to her, having in His right hand a crown of gold, glittering with pearls, and in His left a crown of thorns, bristling with spikes, and said to her: 'Choose which thou wilt; either in the course of this life to be crowned with the crown of thorns, and I will lay up for thee another precious crown for life eternal; or, take this precious crown now, and this thorny one shall be laid up for thee after death.' The virgin answered, 'Lord, in this life I have always chosen to be moulded in the likeness of Thy most blessed passion, and I now make my choice.' Saying this she, with both her hands, snatched the crown of thorns from the hand of the Saviour, and placed it upon her own head with such force, that after the vision had passed away she felt a distinct pain in her head from the pricks of the thorns. So likewise the glorious King Baldwin of Jerusalem, who was the first Latin Christian who reigned there, had for his ensign of royalty a crown not of gold [113a] but of thorns, and always on days of solemn state, even when other kings were present, he went crowned with thorns, saying that it

would be unseemly for a sinful man to walk abroad as King of Jerusalem, tricked out with a crown of gold, when the King of Heaven had been crowned in Jerusalem with a crown of thorns. Round about Jerusalem there grow exceeding sharp thorns, whereof I wove a crown and carried it to Ulm with me. We ought not to believe that it was sea-thorns which were used to crown Christ, but the common thorns which grow in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, on the Mount Sion, and on the Mount of Olives, and in the valleys: for the crowning of Christ was not a premeditated act of either Jews or Gentiles, but when He was brought before the judge and accused of having said that He, Christ, was a King, then of a sudden it came into their minds that He ought to be crowned in mockery and with torment, and they brought thorns from the nearest bushes, or perhaps found them in the kitchen of the house (of Pilate) among the faggots of wood for the fire, for I have seen with my own eyes that even at the present day they have no firewood save thorns, and their kitchens are full of exceeding sharp thorns for burning in the fire.

OF THE CHAPEL OF ST. HELENA, THE DISCOVERER OF
THE HOLY CROSS.

When we had left that chapel we went on our way, circling round the church on the inside, chanting the hymn of St. Helena, as is appointed in the processional, and we came to a great door in the wall of the church, as though through this door there were a passage to the outside of the church. Through this door we passed into darkness, which we dispelled with our lights, and straightway we felt under our feet stone steps, down which we went by thirty steps or stairs into a chapel which is called the chapel of St. Helena, and which is underground. There, when we

had finished chanting our service, we knelt and prayed and received indulgences (†). This chapel is of good size, its only walls being the rock out of which it is hewn, and in like manner the steps from the church above lead down between walls of rock. Above it is vaulted, and gets its light through the vaulted roof, which vault is supported by six marble columns. It is said that at the time of Christ's passion these columns supported the judgment-hall wherein the Lord was judged, and that they were brought hither by St. Helena. These columns are black and polished, and continually sweat; water drips from them drop by drop, and when a man wipes away these drops with his hand or his clothes, straightway other drops burst forth. The common people say that they began this miraculous sweat when Christ was being punished in the judgment-hall, and that this sweating is their tears over the innocence of Christ Jesus. We ought not altogether to reject the opinion of the common people, which of a surety is not altogether idle; for if stones can be said to sing praises to the Redeemer when men are silent, as we read in the nineteenth chapter of St. Luke, what wonder is there if stones [b] should weep for the death of the Redeemer while men laughed it to scorn? As on Palm Sunday the Jewish boys and the disciples of Christ cried 'Hosanna,' and the stones were silent, yet had these been silent the stones would have cried out, even so had men wept for His innocent and cruel death, these stones would not have shed tears. But since men did not weep, the rocks shed tears, even as we read that they were rent asunder when Christ died. There is therefore no improbability in the pious belief of the populace, which declares that these columns wept at his death, save only that it is not mentioned in Scripture: indeed, it is easier for a stone to weep than to sing praises. Furthermore, they say that

these columns weep thus continually because men rejoice and laugh, when they ought to be ever bewailing Christ's passion and their own sins and the wretchedness of this wicked world ; and they say that if men would cease from excessive mirth these columns would cease from shedding tears. Other simple-minded men tell one in all good faith about these columns, that during Christ's passion the Virgin Mary being filled with sorrow and weeping alone, thus addressed the columns, 'There is nothing,' said she, 'that shares my grief, and how can I endure to bear such a weight of bitterness alone? Weep with me, ye stones.' At these words they began to drip with water. These columns are perhaps alluded to in Wisdom xi.: 'They were given water from the depths of the rock, and relief from thirst from the hard rock,' in Habbakuk ii. 11 : 'For the stone shall cry out of the wall,' and in Job ix. 6: 'Which shaketh the earth out of her place, and the pillars thereof tremble.' That which I have said above about these columns I heard from devout and simple Catholics, and from devout women, at whose piety I should be loth to scoff, or to despise their zeal. Yet I know full well that what can be done by natural causes ought not to be ascribed to miracles: for there is a certain stone, a sort of marble, called *endroson* (*ἐνδροσόν*), from which water continually oozes, in whatever part of a building it be placed, because by its exceeding cold nature it condenses the air round about it, and turns it into water, as though in stones which are possessed of the proper qualities it were easy to turn water into air by refining it, and air into water by condensing it, wherefore air which has been made water on the surface of a stone naturally oozes into drops as it drips from the stone. Something of the same kind is said to take place in the old palace at Constantinople, in one room of which there are marble shells of a

stone of this same sort, which shells of their own accord fill themselves with water, and when they are emptied, become full again without being filled by any man. The common people look upon this with astonishment, as a miracle, yet it comes to pass by the operation of nature. In like manner I believe these columns to be *endrosic*, that is, made of stone which is naturally wet and dripping with water.

In this same chapel there is a stone shell built into the wall, near the altar, which is meant to contain holy water, but which is always empty and devoid of holy water. When a man puts his head into this shell and listens, he hears a sound like the roaring and crackling of flames of fire, or like the rushing of many waters, but especially when a man is alone in the chapel, and desires to hear this noise, he hears a terrible disturbance, as I myself have frequently heard. Simple-minded folk when they hear this noise are much alarmed, and say that beneath it is purgatory, and that this sound is caused by the infliction of punishment and by the roars of the torturers; but I believe that this noise is caused down here by people walking about in the church above.

On either side of the stairs are large and lofty caverns hewn out of the rock, which once were consecrated chapels with altars (114 a). They are altogether without light. It is wondrous to see the piety of the men of old in this and the like matters. This chapel contains two altars, and near the greater of the two, on its right-hand side, there is a stone chair, and near the chair is a window cut through the rock, through which one can see into the pit wherein the holy cross was found. They say that when Helena had found the holy cross, she first built this chapel, and while she sat in this chair continually cast her eyes through the window into the cave wherein she had found the cross.

She sat there constantly, and pointed out to the builders the shape in which they were to build the church, and paid the expenses. In one of those darksome chapels was her bed, and there she abode with her maid-servants by day and by night until the whole church was finished. Some call this the chapel of St. James, and say that St. James, who was the first Bishop of Jerusalem, had his throne therein; wherefore they call that chair St. James's throne. But this is against reason, seeing that in the time of St. James there was no church there, but only a place without the city walls, and of ill fame because of its nearness to Mount Calvary.

THE CAVE WHEREIN THE HOLY CROSS WAS FOUND BY
ST. HELENA.

From this chapel we again descended by sixteen steps, which are on the right-hand side, singing the hymn of the holy cross, and we came into another chapel which is entirely dark and deprived of daylight, but is lighted by many lamps. At the foot of that chapel there is a pit twenty-two feet in length overhung by the rock, in which pit the sainted Empress Helena found that most precious treasure, which had lain hidden therein for more than three hundred years. There she found the three crosses, the nails, the crown of thorns, the plate on which the title placed over the cross was written, the iron head of the lance, with which the heart of Christ was pierced, the reed with the sponge, and all the instruments which were made use of in the crucifixion of Christ and of the two thieves, all of which they had thrown into this place together with the crosses, regarding them as unclean. We stood round about this holy cave chanting hymns of praise, glorifying the cross which was found there; one after

another we bowed ourselves down and kissed the place, and received plenary indulgences († †).

Now in the place where we imprinted our kisses we perceived a sweet scent which was breathed forth from the cave, by which odour we were very greatly edified, refreshed, and comforted, to think that we had been found worthy to catch the last relics of that most sweet scent which breathed forth from that cave when Judas Quirinus came upon the cross as he dug, as we read in the account of the invention of the holy cross.

This place is terrible, and is sunk deep among the rocks. Now how it came to pass that the crosses were buried so deep down in the bowels of the earth will be easily seen by anyone who understands and has read of the position of the holy city. The ancient city of Jerusalem was encircled by a deep chasm on the western side, where the Lord was crucified, which chasm reached from the south to the north along the entire length of the city. This chasm made a natural, not an artificial ditch for the city, and was formed of craggy rocks opposite to one another on either side of the chasm. Above the crags and rocks on the inner margin ran [b] the city wall, and the rocks of the outer margin stood up as defences for the city. Among these rocks on the outer margin there was one called Calvary, and below it was a place called Golgotha. On Calvary the Lord was crucified together with two others, and when they were taken down from the crosses, their executioners threw the crosses into that chasm, together with all the other instruments belonging to those who had been crucified, because Calvary stood on the edge of the chasm, and they could have done nothing else but draw the crosses out of the holes in the rock, and throw them into that pit, even as they were wont to throw other refuse into it; whereby the crosses were soon covered, for every

day they cast down refuse there from the city wall. At last, when Titus destroyed Jerusalem, in the forty-third year after Christ's passion, he caused the walls and towers in that place to be cast down into that chasm, and thus day by day the crosses became more and more deeply covered. Seventy-seven years later came the emperor Ælius Hadrianus, who, out of hatred for the Christians, built on Golgotha a most impure temple wherein he placed a marble statue of Venus, as we are told by St. Jerome in his epistle to Paullina, while out of hatred for the Jews he set up a statue bearing his own likeness in the place where the Temple of the Lord had once stood, where the Jews had made an oratory for themselves. As soon as the emperor's back was turned to the city, the Jews destroyed the imperial statue. When Hadrian heard this, he returned, drove out the Jews from the city, destroyed it down to the very ground, and went his way. Thus for a second time were the walls cast down into the chasm upon the crosses. Not long afterwards Cæsar returned, rebuilt the city afresh, and gave orders that the ancient west wall should be entirely thrown down into the chasm, that the chasm should be filled up and levelled with the rest of the ground, that the temple of Venus should be enclosed within the circuit of the city wall, and the city made so much larger. Thus it came to pass that this chasm, in which the holy cross lay for about one hundred and eighty years, as Jerome . . . tells us, until St. Helena came, and could scarcely find the spot, which had fallen into oblivion. Wherefore she cleaned out this cavern, and caused it to be consecrated, and built her own chapel and dwelling above it, as it is at this day. So we stood in that place, rapt as it were in admiration of the rocks and stones beneath which the holy cross was found, for the precipitous rocks overhung our heads, and threatened to fall upon us. In this

holy chasm pilgrims are inspired with great devotion, but the Eastern Christians and even the Saracens indulge in vain superstitions about it, and scrape off pieces from these rocks for medicines, for they declare that one sick of a fever will be cured straightway if he drink some wine and water in which a piece of these rocks has been placed. Moreover when anyone suffers with headache, he forthwith causes his head to be shaved, and sends the hair which has been cut off it to the guardians of the temple, that they may place it upon the spot where the cross was found ; and when this is done, the patient is cured. So also do they when one suffers from toothache, for they then shave his beard off and send the hair to the cave, that he may be healed. . . . Hence it comes to pass that all the crannies in the rocks and between the stones are stuffed full of hair. There can be no doubt that this profane rite has been handed down to them from the idolaters of old times. Diodorus, in the fourth chapter of his second book of ancient history, tells us that the Egyptians of old when they were making vows to their gods for the safety or cure of sick people, used to shave off their hair, and put it into gold or silver vessels, which they sent to those who ministered to the idols in their temples, and they were healed. Thus do these wicked men even at the present day. Behind the place of the invention of the holy cross [115 a] there is a deep hole in the rock, which is full of men's hair and beards. And albeit the Saracens and Turks are unbelievers, notwithstanding they use that place and Calvary for their superstitions. In this cave is an admirable echo, the like of which I have not heard in any choir or church ; wherefore when I have been there alone I have often sung in a full and loud voice the antiphons relating to the invention of the holy cross and other hymns.

THE MOST HOLY MOUNT CALVARY, WHEREON THE LORD
JESUS HUNG UPON THE CROSS.

After we had finished all that was to be done in the holy cave we presently came up again and re-entered the church through the door. As we resumed our procession the precentor began in a loud voice to sing the hymn *Vexilla regis prodeunt*, etc. Singing this we came to the way up to the most holy Mount Calvary, up which we went by eighteen stone steps from the church below it. Above we entered a light, beauteous chapel, adorned with polished and variegated marble, and wherein there hung many lighted lamps. In it stood three altars, adorned with paintings done in mosaic work. This chapel is built of vaulted work, supported by a marble column in the midst of the building. On the under side of the vault are paintings of David and Solomon, David with the text *Qui edebat panes meos magnific*,¹ etc., and Solomon with the text *Sapientia ædificavit sibi domum*,² and a picture of the sacrifice of Isaac. This chapel is built above the Mount Calvary. When we were all come into it, and now before our eyes was displayed that wondrous stone, that desirable rock, with its admirable socket-hole wherein the most holy cross bearing the Crucified One was inserted—when we beheld these things, scared and bewildered at their exceeding great holiness, we fell down upon our faces on the earth, and one heard no longer psalmody, but lamentation; no longer the singing of hymns, but wailings and groans. No one was there who could withhold himself from tears and cries; for who could have so hard a heart that it would not be rent in that place, where he beheld before his eyes the hardest rock to have been rent? Who would not even weep aloud in the place where Christ our

¹ Ps. xli. 9.

² Prov. ix. 1.

God cried with a loud voice as He hung upon the cross ; where likewise He prayed for those who had crucified Him, promised Paradise to the thief, commended His deeply-sorrowing mother to the care of John, and drank the vinegar mingled with gall ; when He said that all was finished, yielded up His spirit into the hands of the Father, and breathed His last ; where the soldier pierced His side with his lance, and there came forth blood and water. Lo, devout pilgrim, it was here that Abel was slain by his brother, Isaac was bound for sacrifice by his father, the brazen serpent was set up by Moses, the paschal lamb was slain according to the Law, God was slain by man, Jesus was crucified in the flesh, thy King was hung upon the cross, thy Lord was condemned to death, the meek and lowly and innocent was drenched with blood, offering Himself both as priest and as victim. These thoughts and others of the like nature occurred to our minds at this most solemn place, and we remained for a long time bowed to the earth in prayer. When we had finished our prayer we went one after another to the holy rock, which projects above the floor, and each one [b] as best he could crawled to the socket-hole of the cross, kissed the place with exceeding great devotion, and placed his face, eyes, and mouth over the socket-hole, from whence in very truth there breathes forth an exceeding sweet scent, whereby men are visibly refreshed. We put our arms and our hands into the hole down to the very bottom : and by these acts we received plenary indulgences († †).

On the left hand side of the socket-hole is a great rent in the rock, from the top to the bottom, which is believed to have been made at Christ's death. We went up to this rent one after another, and kissed it, putting our heads into it and as much of our bodies as we could. Moreover on either side of the holy socket there are two other sockets,

in which the crosses of the two thieves, Dysmas and Gesmas, who were crucified together with Jesus, were placed ; but these sockets cannot be seen, because upon them stand low pillars, upon whose heads there are iron spikes, upon which wax candles and lights are stuck, so that these pillars are as it were candlesticks. Howbeit, we kissed the pillar which stood at the right hand of the cross. About these crosses see above, page 67 *a*.

On the wall behind the holy rock is a new picture, very precious, of the Crucified One, the blessed Virgin, and St. John the Evangelist. We were on the Mount Calvary with our procession for more than an hour, giving ourselves up to prayer and devotion, and night came on, it being about the ninth hour, before midnight. Nicholas de Cusa tells us about the rending of the rock itself in his '*Persuasio ad Soldanum*', in Book III., chapter xvii. of his edition of the Coran.

THE DESCRIPTION OF MOUNT CALVARY AND OF ITS
ARRANGEMENT. (See page 130, and page 264.)

The place Calvary is not called a mount in Scripture, but it is only common talk which speaks of it as a mount, since in truth it is not a mount, but a rock or crag, somewhat raised above the ground, and yet the mount Calvary has not this distinction, as may be clearly seen in the figure. The rock, mount, and place was from the beginning very worthy of respect, because

Adam, our first parent, died here ;

Abraham was blessed here by Melchisedech ;

Isaac was brought hither by his father to be sacrificed ;

The brazen serpent was set up here ;

The Lord Jesus was crucified and died here.

Not that the Mount Calvary contains a large part of the city. The place Calvary means the entire site of the church. The rock of Calvary supports the cross alone. Now before the enlargement of the city this crag stood opposite to the city wall, on the brink of a deep cleft which encircled the city on the western side, as I have said before on page 114 *a, b*. It was not far from the city wall, because the cleft itself, though deep, was not so wide, but that a man could throw a stone from the city wall as far as the crag of Calvary. How great this crag may have been, cannot well be ascertained, but this much is clear, from the form of the church itself, that it was once larger than it now is, because when it was enclosed within the new wall it was necessary to cut away a part of it. Now, although that rock was near the wall, as I have said, yet it was a long way round to it from the pavement, where the Lord took up the cross, to the Gate of Judgment, and from the gate crossing over the ravine by the bridge to the rock, which rock did not stand exactly opposite to the bridge, but a considerable distance away from it, so that one had to turn up along the edge of the ravine. Here stood the crag on the edge of the ravine in such a posture, that the Lord, when crucified thereon, had His back turned to the east and towards the city, but turned His face towards the west. Whether the Lord was crucified on the top of the crag, or [116 *a*] lower down, may well be doubted, because on account of the buildings on the site one cannot tell how wide the rock was at the top. I believe that the Lord was nailed to the cross at the foot of the crag, and that when He was fastened theron, they dragged Him and the cross together up to the top, and there fixed the cross in the rock.

The place of Calvary was worthy of honour from ancient times before the crucifixion of Christ. In it was found the hairless skull of Adam, from which the place was

called Calvary, or Calvary and Golgotha, which is the same thing. The Jews venerated this place from ancient times, because they believe that in it Abraham made ready to sacrifice his son Isaac as we are told (in Scripture). Wherefore here is believed to have been one of the high places wherein the people used to offer sacrifice, and even built a temple, for which they are often reproved in the books of the Kings, where it is said, even of pious kings, ‘He did that which was good in the sight of the Lord, nevertheless he took not away the high places, for the people still offered sacrifice upon the high places.’ For there were certain places in the Holy Land in which some memorable acts have been done by the Lord, and in which, before the building of the temple, the Lord used to be worshipped, which, after the building of the temple, was forbidden to be done. Of these places were Shiloh, and Gilgal, and the Mount of Olives, and the place of Calvary. Upon this high place in particular the people used to offer sacrifice beyond measure, because upon it was set up the brazen serpent wherof we read in the twenty-first chapter of Numbers; which serpent was greatly worshipped by the people up to the time of King Hezekiah, who brake it to pieces, as is told in the eighteenth chapter of the second book of Kings.

The ancients respected this place because it was here that Melchisedech met Abraham and offered him bread and wine: and here is the centre of the world, all of which matter will presently be explained.

Now when the Jews had lost their kingdom, and were governed by foreign-born Gentile kings, who hated them, these kings, to spite the Jews, turned the place of Calvary and Golgotha into a place for the punishment of evildoers, in which thieves, robbers, murderers and blasphemers were punished and put to death, in order that they might make

the place abominable to the Jews out of scorn for them, and the place continued to be held in scorn up to the time of Christ, after whose resurrection and ascension the place began to be respected and worshipped by Christians. But the idolatrous emperor *Ælius Hadrianus* would not suffer this, but built a temple of Venus there, set up the statue of an harlot on the rock of Calvary, and thus cast dishonour upon the place, making it odious to Christians, as Jerome tells us in his epistle to Paullina. Thus it remained abominable to Christians for one hundred and eighty years, until St. Helena came, cleared away all the rubbish by which the place was defiled, and wondrously beautified it, as will be shown in my account of the church. As touching this mount, see below, pages 130, 255. See also St. Bernard's sermon to the Knights Templars, chapter x.

THE PLACE WHERE CHRIST WAS NAILED TO THE CROSS,
AND WHERE ADAM'S HEAD WAS FOUND, AND THE
RENDING OF THE ROCK.

After we had kissed the holy rock we descended again in procession to the floor of the church, and entered a chapel which is underneath the chapel of Mount Calvary, and from which rises the rock of the cross of Christ, which rock rises up even into the chapel above. In this place we fell upon the earth and kissed it with great devotion, adoring Jesus upon the cross, upon which He was nailed in that place. For if the rock were there as it is at this day, Christ could not have been nailed to the cross upon it, but at its foot, and this must needs have been [b] the place of the nailing to the cross, albeit on this matter there is no text of Scripture or certain proof, except that the shape of the ground appears to prove it. In this place we recalled to our memories the shameful stripping of Christ, how they stripped Him here and robbed Him of all His

garments, how by the taking off of His garments the wounds caused by His scourging were torn open for the second time, and how when He was naked He sat on the ground bowed down both out of shame because He was entirely naked, and out of weakness, because He was covered with wounds. When the cross was ready, and His crucifiers were about to drag Him on to it, He gathered strength to rise, and, bending His knees before the cross, prayed, saying, 'Eternal Father, receive Me Thy beloved Son, whom I offer Thee as a spotless sacrifice for the salvation of mankind for the remission of sins.' Having spoken thus He readily gave Himself up to the hands of His crucifiers, who cast Him down upon the cross and cruelly stretched Him out thereon. Seeing this His most sorrowful mother ran up and brought a veil to cover her Son's middle, wherewith He remained covered. The place where the blessed Virgin and John stood at the foot of the cross is near this place, although the entrance to it is outside the church, as will be shown in its place. This also is to my mind a proof that Christ was nailed to the cross down below, and was raised above the rock together with the cross, amid the noisy scoffings of the Jews.

After we had kissed the place wherein I imagine that Christ was nailed to the cross, we went on our way towards an altar which is built against the rock of Calvary, on the right hand side of which we saw the rent in the rock, which reaches from the top of it quite down to the earth. In this same place, Adam, our first parent, according to many authorities, died and was buried. There is no contradiction to this in what is said in the fourteenth chapter of the Book of Joshua, that Adam was buried in Hebron among the children of Anak, that is, among the giants, because it is said in the Supplement to the Chronicles that Adam died and was buried on Mount Calvary, and that afterwards his body, all save the head, was translated to

Hebron, to the double cave there. The head of Adam was found a long time afterwards on Mount Calvary. For this reason painters are wont to draw a human skull at the foot of the cross. Wherefore Ambrose and Athanasius, Chrysostom and Jerome in his epistle to Marcella, and in many other places, and the Hebrew doctors declare that Adam¹ sinned here, and was buried here, to the end that Christ might expose his own body in the place where the human race became corrupted, and that incorruption might arise from the place where corruption was sown. Thus Antonius, St. Jerome also, often says the same thing: howbeit, in one place he says that to say that Adam was buried there is a smooth saying, and meant to please the ears. So we kissed the place of the rending of the rock, and the burial-place of our father Adam.

Moreover the Eastern Christians say in this place was buried Melchisedech, the first priest of Jerusalem, of whom we read in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis, and in the hundred and tenth Psalm. But this is not received by the Latin and Western Church, because of the Apostle's words in the seventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, where it is said that Melchisedech had no father, no mother, no lineage, and no beginning of his days, or end to his life. This, however, must not be taken to mean that Melchisedech was never born and never died, or that he existed without parents, as the Melchisedechian heretics declare, who say that he was not a man, as . . . but it must be taken to mean that he did indeed have parents, and a beginning and an end to his life, but that no one could ever find this out, because he was a type of the eternal priesthood of Christ. Wherefore Jerome in his Epistle to Evagrius² wonderfully inveighs against those who say that Melchisedech was not a man, but a son of

¹ See Willis, *Church of the Holy Sepulchre*, p. 163. ² Evangelus (?).

God or an angel. Those who say this are held by the Church to be Melchisedechian heretics.

In this chapel are buried the Latin kings,¹ who [117 a] with great valour and exceeding great toil brought back the Holy Land into the hands of the Christians and conquered it, and harassed the Saracens beyond measure, so that it is a wonder that they do not pull down the church because of their bodies. The kings who are buried here are the following : First, King Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lorraine, who, after the taking of Jerusalem in the year of our Lord, 1096,² was elected King of Jerusalem by the whole of the princes of the West, and who on his death was buried here in the church of the Holy Sepulchre. Second, King Baldwin (I.). Third, King Baldwin (II.). Fourth, Fulke. Fifth, Baldwin (III.). Sixth, Amalric. Seventh, Baldwin (IV.). Eighth, Baldwin (V.). Ninth, Guy. This last king was a coward, and neglected the holy city and the kingdom of Jerusalem. The Lord Bertrand,³ Count of Tripoli, revolted against him, albeit he also was a Catholic. Now as King Guy was powerful, and Bertrand could not conquer him by means of his own people, he called the Soldan, the King of Egypt, to help him against the King of Jerusalem, made an alliance with the Saracens, and thus conquered Guy. But the Saracens and heathen peoples, seeing the dissent of the kingdom, and that the Christians were divided amongst themselves, banded themselves together, and took the holy city, from whence they cast out the Christians, and consequently the Christians lost the entire Holy Land. The afore-mentioned kings reigned eighty-eight years and nineteen days in Jerusalem, and their kingdom passed away and was joined to the kingdom of Egypt, as it is at this day.

See how far I have wandered away from my subject ;

¹ See the Appendix to 'Theoderich' in this series.

² 1099.

³ Raymond.

but I will now return to it. The aforesaid chapel beneath Mount Calvary belongs to the Nubian Christians, who conduct their services therein, and say that King Melchior,¹ one of the three magi of whom we read in the second chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, was a King of Nubia, and that when he came from Nubia and had drawn nigh to Jerusalem, he would not enter the city, but was entertained near Mount Calvary, and that therefore this place has been assigned to them from old times. When we had finished the processional service and received indulgences (†), we left this chapel.

THE PLACE WHERE CHRIST'S BODY WAS ANOINTED AND WRAPPED IN LINEN CLOTHS.

When we were come out of that chapel we walked some nine steps further in procession, singing the hymn of Christ's passion, *Pange lingua gloriosi prælium certaminis*, and came to the place where there lies on the floor of the church a black stone, sprinkled with some red spots, and well polished, which stone is said to have been there at the time of Christ's passion, hard by the sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea; for the Jews wash their dead, and lay the body upon a table either of wood or of stone, and there perform the usual services of washing and anointing. Now Joseph, who had hewn a sepulchre for himself out of the rock at that place, had likewise caused a polished marble table to be made for himself, whereon his body might be washed and anointed. But as he gave up his own sepulchre to Christ, even so did he with his stone of unction. So when Joseph and Nicodemus and those who helped them had loosed Christ's body from the cross, they bore him hither, and laid Him naked upon this holy stone, where they anointed His wounds with unguents, and wrapped Him in linen cloths [b]. At these funeral ser-

¹ See the description of the Mount of Olives, p. 148 *a, b.*

vices the most glorious and most sorrowful Mary was present, sitting and holding the wounded head of her Son in her lap, and binding it up with a napkin, while Mary Magdalén most carefully anointed those sacred feet which she had once anointed in life, and, as their work needed it, they rolled his most precious body upon this stone. On this most sacred stone I, alas, stood in ignorance, as has been told above, on page 109 *a, b.* We ranged ourselves round about this stone in procession, and when we had finished singing we all one after another knelt and kissed it, and received plenary indulgences († †). From this place they carried the body of the Lord to the sepulchre, which is about fifty paces distant from it. Above this place there is a cord stretched from one wall to the other, from which hang many lighted lamps. After the procession they laid a table upon this stone, and anyone who chose celebrated Mass thereon.

THE PLACE WHERE THE CENTRAL POINT OF THE WHOLE WORLD IS SAID TO BE.

When we had visited all the holy places before we entered the Lord's sepulchre we marched in procession, swerving aside from the path by which the body of the Lord Jesus was carried to the sepulchre, and entered the church of Golgotha, which is the choir of the entire building. Here, when we were come to the middle of the choir, we halted round about a stone which is round, and raised above the other stones of the pavement, in the midst whereof is a round hole, into which a man could put his fist, that is to say, his clenched hand. They say that this stone lies in the central point of the whole world, and the Eastern Christians say that the Lord Jesus, before His passion, stood here with His disciples, and pointed to this spot with His finger, saying, ‘Lo, here is the middle of the world.’ Ancient histories also tell us that before the

building of this temple a tall marble pillar was set up in this place by philosophers, which pillar at the summer equinox threw no shadow at mid-day, as the sun stood directly over it. A certain knight who was a pilgrim in my company wished to prove this by experiment, and having obtained leave from the Lord Sabathytance, the master of the hospice, who was called the Chief Calinus, he ascended with some of his comrades above the vaulted roof of the choir, which vaulted roof is very lofty and has steps by which it can be ascended. On the topmost part of the roof is a high place cunningly built of stone, whereon a man may stand without peril and look round about him. To this place that knight ascended at mid-day, to see whether his body would cast any shadow. He declared to us that in very truth he saw no shadow proceeding from his body, for he stood directly above that place round which we stood, because the dome is so built as to stand above that place, in order that the experiment may be made there. But I do not see that the fact that the sun shines at mid-day so directly above men's heads that their bodies cast no shadow is any true and certain proof that the spot where it does so is the middle of the world, for I have read in several books about many places where at certain times men's bodies cast no shadow, as we are told by Dionysius in his third book of 'Antiquities' of this sort, about a certain island which lies in the ocean towards the southward, wherein about mid-day no object whatever casts any shadow, because the sun is straight overhead: and yet this island is a very long way from Jerusalem. Also Peter de Abano,¹ Conciliator, in his book about learning, etc., page 67, says that the same thing takes

¹ A well-known writer of the Middle Ages, a philosopher and physician of Padua, called 'Conciliator,' because he wrote a treatise reconciling the existing systems of philosophy. He also wrote on poisons, natural magic, etc.

place in the city of Athens, where he himself has proved it by experiment. At the city of Syene, too, upon the Nile, the same thing is said to happen when the sun is in the summer tropic. Ptolemy, too, in his third and fourth map of Africa brings in many regions where the noonday sun stands directly overhead : and what is more than this, in the same map many places are noted where twice in the year the sun stands overhead without casting any shadow. For example there are many places in Asia, as may be seen in the sixth map, in the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth : and it is well known that these places are not the middle of the world. Many have held a certain island to be the middle of the world, in which island the noonday sun always fails to cast a shadow. Howbeit, the opinion of the vulgar is that any place is the middle of the world, because they believe that mankind are spread all round about the world, and stand with their feet the opposite way to ours, so that each man has his own zenith, and each man treads with his feet upon what to him is the middle of this globe or world. But Augustine in his treatise ‘*De Civitate Dei*,’ Book XVI., chapter ix., altogether denies the existence of any antipodes, because neither Scripture, history, nor experience, teaches us to believe in them, and it is impossible to reach the other side of the globe because of the vast extent of the ocean, which it is impossible for any of our shipping to traverse. See about these matters in the ‘*Speculum Naturae*,’ Book VII., chapter x. But the infallible truth of Holy Scripture proves by its testimonies that Jerusalem is in the middle of the world. However, many say that Jerusalem is indeed the middle of the habitable world, but is not in the middle of the entire scheme of the universe. Whichever of these opinions is true, we must believe the Holy Scripture, which declares that Jerusalem lies in the midst of the

earth, and tells us that our Saviour worked out our salvation in the midst of the earth. Wherefore in the first place Ezekiel in his fifth chapter says, 'This [118a] is Jerusalem; I have set it in the midst of the nations and countries that are round about her.' Secondly, in the 74th Psalm we read, 'He hath wrought his salvation in the midst of the earth.' Wherefore Hilarius says, 'The place where the cross stood is, as it were, a point in the centre of the earth, in order that all men might have equal opportunities of obtaining knowledge of God.' For the place where the cross was set up, and the rock, stand to the right hand of this central point, and from it there is a door in the choir leading up to Mount Calvary. As then Christ is the central person in the Trinity, and the Mediator between God and man, as He holds the middle position in the scheme of the Redemption of the world, even so He chose the middle point of the world and set up His cross in the same. There appears to be an allusion to this in Genesis ii.: 'The tree of life also in the midst of the garden,' meaning 'the cross of Christ in the midst of the world.' Moreover in Deut. vii. 21: 'The Lord thy God is among you.' And of the church of the Holy Sepulchre it is said in Leviticus xxvi. 11: 'I will set my tabernacle among you,' that is, 'I will set up the temple of My sepulchre in the midst of the world.'

So in this place we rejoiced with exceeding great joy, that we had come from the uttermost parts of the earth to the middle thereof safe and sound, and after we had offered praises to God we received indulgences (†).

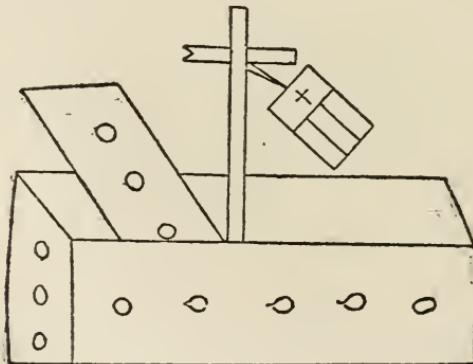
THE PLACE WHERE THE HOLY WOMEN SAW THE STONE ROLLED AWAY FROM THE SEPULCHRE.

When we departed from this place, and from the church of Golgotha, we passed out again by the door through

which we came in, into the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and came to the place where the three Maries, when they came to anoint Jesus, saw rolled away from the mouth of the sepulchre that stone about which they had been anxious on their way, saying, 'Who will roll away the stone for us from the mouth of the sepulchre?' and when they looked they found that it was rolled away. We entered into this place and bowed ourselves to the earth, kissed it, and received indulgences (†).

Be it noted, that wherever this drawing or symbol of the holy sepulchre occurs, and as many times as you find it, so many times you may know that I watched throughout the night in the church of the holy sepulchre during my second pilgrimage. During my first I passed three nights therein.

F.F.F.F.F.



HOW THE PILGRIMS CAME INTO THE MOST HOLY SEPULCHRE OF THE LORD JESUS.

Rouse up yourselves now, my lords and brother pilgrims, arise and hurry onward with a swifter pace, but come not save in a cheerful mood. Lay aside all sorrow, wipe away

the tears from your eyes, refrain from lamentations, and all together sing that sweet Easter song Alleluia : for after the gloomy Jewish Sabbaths a genial light has shined forth upon the word from the squalid and darksome sepulchre which we are about to enter : for the world has received far brighter light from thence than from the glimmering bodies in the firmament. Come then with joy and praise, look upon the place where the Lord was laid, and behold the end of your pilgrimage. So hereupon the precentor in a pleasant and cheerful voice began the paschal hymn, *Ad cænam agni providi*, etc., and we walked on in procession chanting it, and came to the most precious sepulchre of the Lord Jesus, before which we rang out our Easter hymns with many an Alleluia, with as great, or it may be with even greater joy than if we had reached happy Easter day after a sad and toilsome Lent. For as on Mount Calvary we pitied our Lord Christ, and shed tears, so here we rejoiced with our Redeemer, and offered to him sweet tears of joy and lively songs: and rightly so; for Jesus our Saviour after His tears and sorrow, after His mockings and scourgings, after His cups of vinegar and gall, after His torture and wounds upon the cross, after His terrible death itself, after His piteous burial, after He had descended into the everlasting shades of hell, after He had broken the iron bars, after He had bound the prince of darkness, and set free all the chosen patriarchs, rose glorious and triumphant from this tomb we now behold, from this darksome cave, there shone forth so bright a light, there darted forth so brilliant a ray, there gleamed such snowy whiteness, there became such blessed peace, there came forth such happiness, there breathed forth such salvation as made earth, sea and sky to rejoice together. In this sepulchre, in this tiny hut did the eagle renew its youth, the lion roused up its cub, the phœnix

renewed its life, Jonah came forth unharmed from the whale's belly, the candlestick was clad with gold, the tabernacle of David which had fallen down was set up again, the sun shone forth after being behind a cloud, the grain of wheat which had fallen into the earth and died became quickened, the stag again put forth his horns, Samson bore away the gates and broke through his guards, Joseph was brought forth from prison, shaved, gaily dressed, and made lord of Egypt. The sack-cloth of Christ Jesus was cut away ; He was clothed with gladness, and besides all this, our toilsome pilgrimage, our weary wanderings are here ended and brought to rest. Here, then, I pray you, let us lay aside our pious plaints of sorrow, our clouds of grief, [119 a] and let us draw a quiet breath in happiness : let us who have followed our Redeemer to His tomb with sorrow, now take part in the joy of His glorious resurrection. Come, then, gather yourselves together, knights and kindly pilgrims, enter the most holy sepulchre and see with your eyes, feel with your hands, touch with your mouth the place where the Lord lay. So we joyously went in, one after another, into the most precious sepulchre of the Lord Jesus, kissed the most holy bier, and received entire and plenary indulgences (††) for all sins. We were indeed filled with an especial joy here, greater than what we felt at the other holy places. Thus St. Bernard in the second chapter of his sermon to the Knights Templars says that the sepulchre hath as it were the pre-eminence among the holy and desirable places, and that something more of devotion is felt at the place where He lay at rest than at those where He moved about in life. Thus, too, the remembrance of His death excites our piety more than that of His life : I suppose because His death was cruel, while His life was pleasant by comparison, and because our human weakness is more attracted by the repose of

sleeping than the toil of living among men, more by the safety of death than by righteousness of life. The life of Christ is to me a rule by which to live, His death is my redemption from death. Here we received spiritual refreshment and indulgences, and passed out with joyous thanksgiving, and thus our procession came to an end one hour before midnight. (The description of the holy sepulchre appears on page 124 *b.*) When the procession was over the pilgrims drew together according to their several companies, into the various corners of the church, each company sitting in its own place, for we were wearied and worn out, and we made a sober meal. After we had eaten we leaned our heads against the wall for a short rest, and lay asleep upon the pavement. I myself abode with the brethren of Mount Sion in the chapel of the blessed Virgin, who had given me a quiet place to sleep in, but I could by no means close my eyes to sleep. Wherefore I arose straightway, lit my candle, and joined the watchers at the holy places : for indeed the greater part of the pilgrims were wandering about all the aforesaid holy places as each one pleased, passing hither and thither as the spirit of prayer moved them : for a pilgrim may enter the Holy Sepulchre, ascend the Mount Calvary, or descend into the chapel of the Invention of the Cross, and the other places as often as he pleases. In these solitary visits to the holy places men feel greater devotion and abstraction from the world than when they do so in the general procession, in which there is much pushing and disorder, and disturbance, and singing, and weeping, whereas in the other case there is silence and peace. As I went the round of the places for the second time, I went down to the place of the Invention of the Cross, and there read my matins. I took great delight in that underground place, because it was quiet and suited to me, for the

Mount Calvary and the Lord's sepulchre, and the other places up above were filled with an unbroken throng of pilgrims, and very noisy. Meanwhile some of my lords and their servants were running to and fro in the church above me, hunting in every corner, seeking for me to hear their confessions, and never guessed me to be in that place. At last they came down to where I was, and I heard them there, sitting in the chair of St. Helena, whereof I have already made mention on page 114 *a.*

ABOUT DIVINE SERVICE IN THE HOLY SEPULCHRE, THE WAY IN WHICH IT IS CELEBRATED, AND THE ORDER THEREOF.

When it was midnight, the sacrist ran about the church with a wooden plank, and very noisily gave the signal for morning prayers. When I heard this, I straightway ascended, appointed for those whose [b] confession I had not yet heard another time at which I would hear them, and entered the sacristy, which adjoins the chapel of the Blessed Virgin, where I vested myself for the celebration of Mass (for this church, like that of Bethlehem, has the privilege that Masses may be said in it even at midnight). When I was ready I came forth, went into the most holy sepulchre of our Lord, where I was the first to obtain a place wherein to say Mass undisturbed, and there I most pleasantly celebrated the Mass for the Lord's Resurrection. After my Mass I administered the sacrament to several noblemen in the holy sepulchre itself, by permission of the Father Guardian. After me other priests came to celebrate Mass, both in the holy sepulchre and in three other places, as I have told you on page 110 *a*, under the sixth head.

However, the greatest struggle among the priests is to

say Mass at the holy sepulchre, especially when many priests are present; for they stand outside the sepulchre and wait for the one who is celebrating to finish, and as soon as he leaves the altar, another straightway runs up to it, and while he who has been celebrating disrobes himself, six or more priests stand round him, all struggling to obtain his sacred vestments, and when he takes off his surplice, all the six or more lay hold of it and pull at it, and use such offensive words one to another that they all but come to blows. I have seen priests striving thus one with another who waxed so wroth that one said to the other, 'Give up the surplice to me.' Another on the opposite side of it said, 'I will keep hold of it; you are not worthy to go before me.' The other answered, 'You are not worthy to celebrate Mass at all; I go before you because I am worthier than you.' And with this they went so far as even to use vile and disgraceful language and curses, while they dragged at the surplice as though they would tear it asunder. Lo, whoever heard a more unreasonable dispute! What folly, what rash presumption, what blindness! I opine that men who can wrangle thus must have a blind, foolish sort of piety, execrable alike to God and to man, and that it is incomparably better for such men to refrain themselves—nay, better were it for them never to have seen Jerusalem, than that they should thus blindly meddle with sacred things. I vigorously joined my expression of sorrow to that of the laymen who were present, and who were looking on greatly scandalized at this scene. Perhaps from my want of piety I did not feel such interest in the saying of Mass as they did, and I would rather have left Jerusalem without celebrating than I would have fought for a place. Yet both in my first and my second pilgrimage I always got a place without any dispute, even at the spots which are most sought

after. I have seen some others who did not indeed struggle or dispute, but rushed in and laid hold of the surplice for themselves by main force so impatiently and masterfully that no one dared to oppose them. Such men I hold to be worse priests and more presumptuous even than those who dispute. All this arises from want of order, because the matter is not reduced to any system. On my first pilgrimage there were many priests, and few laymen, and the matter was not subject to any rules, so that many disputes of this kind took place. On my second pilgrimage there were few priests and many laymen, and the Father Guardian, who was a wise man, had arranged everything very well, so that the ceremony was performed in peace.

The reasons why the priests are in such a hurry and strive one with another for a place, are various. One of them is the frenzy of devotion which men feel at the holy places, which becomes so great as to produce unbridled zeal, especially among those who have no discretion or piety, [120a] for such men are always afraid that they will not be allowed time for the full indulgence of their devotions. Another is, that many priests have made a vow that they will celebrate one or two Masses in the holy sepulchre, and so they strive and struggle that they may fulfil their vow. Another reason is that many come thither who are sent by others, who cannot themselves fulfil their vow of pilgrimage thither. When they send these men in their place they entrust them with the saying of so many Masses in the Holy Sepulchre, and exact oaths from them and pay their expenses; wherefore these men are afraid lest they perjure themselves, and so they hurry and quarrel. Another reason is that they wish when they return to their own country to be able to say with truth, 'I celebrated Mass in the Holy Sepulchre,' and it seems to

them, if they could not get a place, that it would be a shame to them and a scandal that they should so depart from Jerusalem. Another reason is that sometimes some of the knights who are present give a priest a ducat to celebrate a Mass for them in the holy sepulchre, and these priests scuffle very vigorously. Moreover, some priests have been charged by their superior prelates to celebrate so many Masses in the holy sepulchre ; and some when they leave those dear to them promise them that they will say Mass in the Lord's sepulchre for them. All these classes of men eagerly struggle for a place. Another cause is perhaps a superstitious one ; for it is said that every Mass which is said in the Lord's sepulchre does in truth set free a soul from purgatory. The same thing is said of Masses said in the Catacombs at Rome, and that more especially those souls are freed on behalf of whom the celebrating priest says the Mass. Those who believe this are in a prodigious hurry, and injure themselves, offend their brethren, and are a scandal to laymen in their eagerness to help these souls. Another reason is that some believe that Masses said in the holy sepulchre are more efficacious both for the celebrant and for other persons, whether dead or alive, and more likely to obtain grace. Another cause is the covetousness and irreverence of some men, who will not give way to any man, but always push for the first place, because they know not how to wait in patience. There is another reason, which perhaps is the first as well as the last : it is, that the pilgrims know well that they are not allowed to pass more than three nights in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and that they have not time for more than three Masses, wherefore each man struggles to be the first to get his Mass said in the holy sepulchre, and will not rest until he has said it, because he fears that time will fail him, as it often does fail many,

who depart in sorrow without having said a Mass in the holy sepulchre. So, as aforesaid, we celebrated our Masses, and at sunrise the sacristan again ran round the whole church with his wooden board, and gave the signal for the celebration of High Mass at prime and tierce on the Mount Calvary. So we all went up into the holy mount, and the Father Guardian with his attendants, dressed in their sacred vestments, came up to the altar, and the precentor began the service of the Holy Cross with the prayer, *Nos autem gloriari*, and we all took part in the service with loud voices. After the service my lords the knights and all the lay pilgrims received the sacrament [121a] with great piety, and the service lasted until the hour of eight in the morning. At the very instant when we had finished, the Saracens came to turn us out.

THE DRIVING OUT OF THE PILGRIMS FROM THE HOLY SEPULCHRE, AND THEIR VISIT TO THOSE PLACES ROUND ABOUT THE CHURCH TO WHICH INDULGENCES ARE ATTACHED.

After we had finished our services and Masses there came the pagan Moorish lords, who threw open the gates of the church, making a great noise with the doors, that we might go forth more quickly. On hearing this we were frightened and disturbed at our separation from such delightful places, and we ran round from one holy place to another, kissing them; but as the pilgrims delayed their going by acting thus, the Moors became angry, banged the doors of the church so violently that the hinges creaked, and ran about with frightful yells among the holy places, from which they drove the pilgrims by force, and turned every one of us out of the church, except only the usual guardians. When they had turned us out they shut the church doors and went their way, leaving us in

the courtyard outside. There we addressed ourselves to the visiting of certain holy places near to the church.

THE PLACE WHERE THE VIRGIN MARY AND JOHN THE EVANGELIST STOOD BY THE FOOT OF THE CROSS OF JESUS, WHEN HE COMMENDED THEM TO THE CARE OF ONE ANOTHER.

First then on leaving the door of the church we turned to the right, where against the wall of the church there is a stair of stone steps leading up to Mount Calvary. At the top of these steps there was once a door through which one could pass to the rock of Calvary, but this door has now been built up by the Saracens. Under these steps there is a door through which one enters a chapel which is within the walls of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but which is surrounded by a wall on the inside, so that no one can enter the church through it, because the Saracens have built up its inner door also. In this chapel is the place where the most blessed Virgin Mary and St. John the Evangelist stood beneath the cross, at the foot of the rock of Calvary, when the Lord Jesus saw them both, and commended John to the care of His mother, and His mother to the care of His disciple. In this holy place we bowed ourselves to the earth and lay prostrate there, and received indulgences (†).

This place belongs to the Indians, who conduct their services there.

In this place we reflected upon the immeasurable sorrow of the blessed Virgin, because we knew that she there suffered all the pangs of every bodily suffering. All the cruelties which were exercised upon the bodies of the martyrs were trifling, or rather were even as nothing, in respect of her agony, whose measureless extent did indeed pierce the very innermost recesses of her kindest of hearts. ‘There

stood by the cross of Jesus,' we are told by the Evangelist, 'Mary, His mother,' not as idle or busied with vain tasks, [122a] but with a troubled mind, and a piteous voice, saying: 'O my Son, that wert once my delight and my joy, and art now a grief keener than the sharpest-pointed sword! Oh, how unhappy is this day both for me and for Thee; who can heal the wounds of my sorrows, or comfort the wretchedness of Thy miserable mother, when I see my Son made as it were a leper, Thou that wert fairest of all the children of men, and treated as a malefactor and numbered with transgressors, Thou that art the holiest of the saints? Above all my unbearable sorrows is this, that I see Thee to all appearance forgetful of me, Thy widowed mother. Now, even now, Thou art dying, and sayest no word to me. What shall I do without Thee, my Son? Whither shall I betake myself? To whom shall I fly for refuge? Thou art my Father, Thou art my Brother, Thou art my glory. O forsaken one that I am, who see so great a Son fainting upon the cross! O my most loving Son, speak to me, Thy mother, that I may hear Thy voice, that so by hearing Thy mere words I may be made more patient to endure my punishment, which tortures me through my love of Thee, lest I faint in this ineffable anguish. To whose charge, I pray Thee, wilt Thou leave me, Thy orphan? With these and other lamentations like to these, the Virgin Mary lamented in this place the misfortunes of her Son and of herself. Her Son, seeing this, said: 'Woman, behold Thy Son.' We pitied the mother in this place, even as on Calvary we had pitied the Son. But how warm a love she felt above all others for the Evangelist himself, who stood there in such deep affliction! The blessed Virgin and John and the others did not stand upon the rock, beneath the arms of the cross, but at the foot of the rock, opposite to Christ's face.

THE CHAPEL OF THE HOLY ANGELS, AND WHEREFORE
IT SHOULD BE THERE.

After we had said our prayers in the afore-mentioned place, we passed into another chapel, which is dedicated to the holy angels. This chapel is served by Jacobites, and we knelt therein and received indulgences (†).

After this we conferred with one another as to why a chapel of the holy angels should be built adjoining this most holy church. The answer which we received was, that this chapel was built because of the effectual protection which the angels extend to this church. For had the holy angels not always guarded this church and the Lord's Sepulchre with especial care, it would long ago have been utterly destroyed by the infidels. Moreover, pilgrims who come from parts beyond the sea to the Sepulchre of the Lord escape many risks and deadly perils through the guardianship of the angels, to whom they return thanks in this chapel, and beg that they may be brought happily home again under the same angelic safe-conduct.

THE CHAPEL OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST.

From this chapel we passed on to another one, which is dedicated to John the Baptist, and which belongs to the Georgians. When we had entered it we bowed ourselves in prayer, and received indulgences (†). It is quite according to reason that he who was the greatest among those born of women should have a place and oratory beside the greatest church among all churches ; and likewise because the most holy Baptist pointed to Christ with his finger and said, 'Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world,' which saying we know [it] was fulfilled in this spot, whereon He offered Himself as a sacrifice to take away the sins of the whole world. Moreover, the Baptist

has a chapel there, in order that the Saracens themselves may be more inclined to spare the church, because they hold the Baptizer of Christ in great honour.

THE CHAPEL OF ST. MARY MAGDALEN IN THE COURTYARD OF THE CHURCH.

As we went further on we came upon another chapel, which is dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, on the left hand side (of the court), close to the bell-tower. This was once a large church with a convent of nuns attached to it, but at the present day the greater part of it has been destroyed. Service is performed in this chapel by the Greeks. It was very right of the ancient fathers of the church to build the church of St. Mary Magdalen adjoining the most holy church of the Holy Sepulchre: for when all the Apostles had gone away from this place and left the sepulchre, Mary Magdalen herself remained alone in the garden, walking to and fro and seeking (for the Lord), and could not bear to leave the place: by which piety she deserved to have a house of prayer here, that she might be held in honour on this spot for evermore. In this chapel we said the appointed prayers, received indulgences (†), and went on our way to the other holy places.

THE PLACE WHERE ABRAHAM WAS ABOUT TO OFFER HIS SON ISAAC AS A SACRIFICE.

The four chapels aforesaid stand round about the court-yard or parvise of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and one can enter them from the court without any ascent or descent. After we had visited them, as has been said, we turned back to the right-hand side of the court, and there passed through a door into a dark passage through some old buildings in which we could see nothing whatever, because the place is dark, and we had just come out of the

bright sunshine into that gloomy place. We went forward a few paces through this darkness, and came to some stone steps, up which we went, and found some tiny cells and chambers in which some wretched Eastern Christians dwell. We knocked at the doors of these, and found only one person there, a little old black slave-woman, who, when she saw us, unlocked the chapel to see which we had come up thither. It is indeed a beautiful chapel, floored with polished and variegated marble, and is situated upon Mount Calvary, on that side of the rock where the cross stood, but without the walls of the church. This chapel is said, according to the opinion of the Catholic doctors, Augustine and Jerome, and the Rabbis of the Jews, to be built upon the spot where Abraham, following the command of the Lord, was about to sacrifice his son Isaac. Others say that this took place on Mount Seir or Sardenai, near Damascus. Others, again, say that it took place upon Mount Moriah, whereon afterwards Solomon built the Temple. But our version is the more Catholic, and more agreeable to reason, because both as a type and as a reality it would have a special propriety as regards the place: because, as Abraham did not spare his own son, as we read in the twenty-second chapter of Genesis, so the Lord did not spare His own very Son, but offered Him up for us all, as is told in the Epistle to the Romans, chapter viii.

Near this chapel, on the outside of it, there stands an ancient [123 a] olive-tree, which is said to be planted on the place where the ram was caught by his horns in the thicket, which ram, as we read in the twenty-second chapter of Genesis, Abraham sacrificed in place of his son. So in that holy chapel we bowed ourselves to the earth, and after saying the appointed prayers received indulgences (†). When we had received the indulgences we

betook ourselves to reflection upon the admirable obedience of Abraham, which led him simply, without the slightest opposition, to follow the command of God, and cast away from himself that which he held most dear, to slay his best beloved with his own hands, even his only-begotten son that had been miraculously born of his lawful wife, to whom the promise of a son had been given. Added to all this, he was a good son, pious, and obedient beyond all others, beauteous, healthy, guileless. Oh, what an example of virtue is it for us to look with our mind's eye upon these two, as they strove upon this very spot to carry out this most difficult task. Abraham was an old man, Isaac was five-and-twenty years old, and both of them were ready to obey God alone in all things. ‘Lo,’ said Isaac, ‘you have me, father; deal with me as you will, bind my hands and feet with ropes, slay me as it pleases you and God.’ O pilgrim, what must it have been to see that venerable old man with wondrous zeal bind the hands and feet of his son, and raise aloft his naked sword wherewith to slay him! What unheard-of obedience both in the father and in the son! What a glowing zeal had they both to serve God. Oh, on this spot may our most lukewarm spirit of obedience be roused up, reproved, corrected, and amended! God warns us, prelates exhort us, the Scriptures cry out to us, experience bears witness to us, vows bind us, examples teach us, and yet we are too proud to obey! Let us, then, on this spot call upon the names of the holy patriarchs that grace may be given to us by God.

THE PLACE WHERE MELCHISEDECH MET ABRAHAM
WITH THE BREAD AND WINE.

When we came out from thence we were led into another chapel of equal beauty, which is built on the place where Melchisedech, the priest of the Most High God and first

King of Jerusalem, met Abraham and blessed him, promised him prophetically that Christ should be born of his seed, and offered him bread and wine. To him Abraham gave firstfruits and tithes of all that he had. In this place we kissed the ground, and received indulgences (†). We also did as the Apostle bids us do in the seventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans,¹ saying, ‘Now consider how great this man (Melchisedech) was, unto whom even the patriarch Abraham gave a tenth of the spoils.’ About this Melchisedech you may read above, page 116 *b*. From that church we passed on to the wall of the choir of the church, circling round towards the right hand and upwards, and so we were able to look over the city far and wide, and were able to note excellently well the distance from the gate out of which the Lord Jesus was led bearing His cross, even to the Mount Calvary.

THE COURTYARD IN FRONT OF THE CHURCH OF THE
HOLY SEPULCHRE HATH IN IT THESE PLACES
AFORESAID, AND IN IT ARE ALSO THE FOLLOWING.

After we had seen that we came down by the same steps which we had gone up, into the courtyard of the church, and near the door we were shown a stone in the pavement, [*b*] upon which were imprinted the marks of two human feet, just as if a man had stood upon a lump of soft wax, and pressed his feet into it; and it is evident that these traces of footsteps are not made in the stone by art, but by a miracle, though nothing is known for certain about this. However, they say that these are the footsteps of the Lord Jesus, who stood there at the foot of the rock of Calvary awaiting His crucifixion. Before this stone we bowed ourselves to the ground and kissed the sacred footprints. From thence we went in procession to

¹ Hebrews vii. 4.

a place close to the way out of the courtyard, where our Lord as He carried His heavy cross is said to have fallen beneath it through anguish and horror when He beheld the rock of Calvary before Him, as has been told above, page 92 *b, ad fin.* This holy place is marked with a stone, whereon many crosses have been cut by pilgrims. We therefore kissed this place, and received plenary indulgences (††).

THE PALACE OF THE KING OF JERUSALEM HARD BY THE CHURCH.

After this we came out of the courtyard, and passed through a door on the left-hand side of it as you look towards the church into a garden planted with orange-trees and pomegranates, from which garden we went up into a great house with many rooms, in which house, however, only a few poor Greeks dwelt, although a hundred men could dwell therein in comfort, because, as I said before, it is a great and stately house, containing a very great number of vaulted chambers. It adjoins the western side of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, in such sort that in the chief room there is a window pierced through the wall into the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, through which one can look down upon the sepulchre of the Lord.

This house was once the dwelling of the Kings of Jerusalem, who dwelt there that they might always be near to the most holy sepulchre of our Lord, and in the days of the Latin kings three loaves of bread were given away there every day to pilgrims. When the Soldan took the holy city and possessed it, he kept on this dole for many years, but now it has altogether fallen into disuse, and the Greeks who dwell in this royal palace can hardly exist through poverty. The house itself threatens to fall into ruin on every side; in many places it is already in

ruins, nor is there anyone to repair it or to build up those ruinous parts. It is inhabited by Greek pilgrims when there are any in Jerusalem, who call it the palace of the Patriarch of the Greeks.

THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN AND THE PLACES ADJOINING IT, AND FORMING PART OF ITS BUILDINGS.

When we came out of that house we went up to the Hospital of St. John, which is opposite to it, in which pilgrims sleep and eat. Adjoining this building in which the pilgrims sojourn, [124 a] there was once a great palace, a stately dwelling of the noble knights of St. John, who were most pious men, and most hospitable to pilgrims. It used to be the custom for every pilgrim who entered the hospital to give the warden of the hospital two Venetian marks, and he had free quarters without any dispute, even if he remained in Jerusalem for a year. And that house and hospital was so roomy and splendid that if a thousand pilgrims arrived there all of them had room without crowding, as may be seen by its ruins, and by the part which remains standing only partly ruined, which is so large that four hundred pilgrims can live in it.

Opposite the hospital are the ruins of vast walls, the remains of the house of the Teutonic Knights, with whom in former times pilgrim nobles from Germany were quartered. Near this same house was another great hall, wherein women pilgrims were wont to sojourn, since they were on no account permitted to live with their husbands in the great hospital.

Now, by the side of the great hospital the Saracens have built a tall and costly tower, adorned with white polished marble, and close to the tower they have built a mosque, facing the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. In this tower they shout and howl day and night according to the ordi-

nances of their accursed creed. I quite believe that this mosque and tower have been built out of disrespect for the Crucified One, and as an offence to the Christians. Beside the mosque at the foot of the tower is a boys' school, in which the heathen children are instructed in the law of Mahomet, and there they shout all day long, making a surprising noise. On another occasion when I was coming down from Mount Sion alone in order to say my prayers in the courtyard of the church, hearing the boys crying out, I went up to the door of the school and looked in. They were sitting in rows upon the ground, and all of them were repeating the same words in unison in a shrill voice, bowing down their heads and their backs, even as the Jews are wont to do when saying their prayers. They repeated the same words so many times, that I remembered both the words and the musical notes, which sounded thus :

Ha y la Halyl la lach Ha y la Ha lyl la lach Ha y la Halyl la lach

These are the true principles and profession of their faith, and these are the first things which they give to their boys to learn, and drive them into their minds by constant repetition. Upon their towers also they frequently make proclamations, as will be seen on page 95, Part II. They have likewise other verses which they teach their children, which are set to different tunes, as I have often [b] heard. Beside that school within the mosque and churchyard are two prisons belonging to the town, in which criminals are confined. They are small hovels, like overs, and stand were to the great hindrance and terror of pilgrims. Indeed, it has often happened to me that when I have been going to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to say my prayers

before the church door, if I saw armed men standing round about these prisons, I have gone home again lest they should do me some injury. I believe that these prisons were actually built there for a disgrace to the church and the hospital, and to be a terror to pilgrims.

From the hospital it is a very little way to the courtyard of the church, and pilgrims are not forbidden to go down thither as many times a day as they please, unless they are prevented by a gathering of the mob at these aforesaid prisons. In my first pilgrimage we were not taken to the Hospital of St. John, but to a large building in Millo, beneath the City of David, and we were not able to go down to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre except under the protection of some Saracen. What the reason of our being quartered elsewhere than in the hospital may have been, I know not; but this I know, that for many years before us pilgrims had been entertained in that same house, because the walls of the chambers were covered with paintings of the coats-of-arms of noblemen of our country, whereby I knew that they had been quartered there, and not in the Hospital of St. John. This same house is large, containing many chambers, and has a beautiful garden. It stands in Millo between Mount Sion and Jerusalem.

Now, after we had visited all the aforesaid places, as I have told you, we all went back, every man to his own place. The lay pilgrim knights went to the Hospital of St. John, but we clergy went up in company with the Minorite brethren to Mount Sion, where we ate, drank, and rested ourselves. Here ended this pilgrimage.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SEPULCHRE OF THE LORD JESUS;
WHAT IT WAS LIKE ORIGINALLY, AND WHAT IT IS
LIKE AT THE PRESENT DAY, ETC.

In the making of anything, both nature and art, although they have the whole of it in view, begin nevertheless with the parts; and first with the nobler parts, and so proceed, forming one after another till there results the whole which they had intended to make. I think that I had better proceed likewise in my arrangement of the account of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which I intend to write. Before I describe it (as a whole) I shall first describe its principal parts, to wit, the holy sepulchre, which is the head and chief part of the whole church, from which the entire church is named, and afterwards I shall describe the Mount Calvary, etc.

[125 a] Now that I am about to give a description of the holy sepulchre, although it is not a matter of great importance, yet nevertheless I find no small difficulty in this task, and that on account of the discrepancies which are to be found in the books written about it by various pilgrims. For this reason also I would gladly describe its arrangement to my brethren in my writings as clearly as I beheld it with my eyes; but this is impossible, because I must needs write either more or less about it than what I saw. The chief points about which I must speak are the three following:

- I. What the Lord's sepulchre was like at the time when the Lord's body was laid therein.
- II. What that sepulchre which we visited and worshipped is like.
- III. Whether this sepulchre is the same wherein the Lord Jesus was laid; and in this third question lies the whole difficulty.

As touching the first, you must know that it is easy to give an idea of what the Lord's sepulchre was like at the time of the death of Christ. He who has beheld the ancient sepulchres in those countries will not find any difficulty in this, although it cannot be distinctly gathered from the words of the holy Evangelists, because they speak briefly and succinctly about this matter. Matthew says (chapter xxvii.), 'When Joseph had taken the body, he wrapped it in a clean linen cloth, and laid it in his own new tomb, which he had hewn out of the rock; and he rolled a great stone to the door of the sepulchre.' Mark says (chapter xv.), 'Joseph bought fine linen and took Him down and wrapped Him in the linen, and laid Him in a sepulchre which was hewn out of a rock, and rolled a stone unto the door of the sepulchre.' And (chapter xvi.) he says of the stone which was rolled to the door that 'it was very great: and entering into the sepulchre, they saw a young man,' etc. Luke (chapter xxiii.) says, 'Joseph . . . begged the body of Jesus, and took it down, and wrapped it in linen, and laid it in a sepulchre that was hewn in stone, wherein never man before was laid.' Also he says (chapter xxiv.), 'The women . . . found the stone rolled away from the sepulchre, and they entered in, and found not the body of the Lord Jesus.' And in the same chapter 'Peter arose and ran unto the sepulchre, and stooping down he beheld the linen clothes laid on the ground.'¹ John says more than the others. In chapter xx. he says: 'In the place where He was crucified there was a garden, and in the garden a new sepulchre, wherein was never man yet laid. There laid they Jesus therefore because of the Jews' preparation-day, for the sepulchre was nigh at hand.' And (chapter xx.) he says that 'Mary Magdalen . . . saw the stone rolled away from the

* A.V. 'by themselves.'

sepulchre, and told it to Peter and John, who came to the sepulchre, and John stooped down and saw the linen clothes lie, yet went not in.'

After having read these accounts, a man who sees the ancient tombs in the Holy Land easily understands what the Lord's sepulchre must have been like; but it cannot possibly now be like what it then was, because of the church which has been built above it, and because of its decorations, as will be shown under the second head, and also because of the changes which the ground has undergone, because it once was a sepulchral building outside the walls of Jerusalem, but afterwards a wall has been built enclosing it, and buildings joined on to it, so that no part of the shape of the ground has remained like that described by the Evangelists. [b] If you wish to know what it was originally like, conceive a garden without the wall and ditch of the city, and between the ditch and the garden a public road, having the dry stone wall of the garden on the one side, and on the other the outer wall of the ditch, or rock, if the ditch were girded about with rock, as it is at Jerusalem. Furthermore, picture to yourself in the garden itself rocks rising out of the ground everywhere, both small and great ones, and amongst them one large and wide rock, solid, not hollow, standing up like a small house. Such was the garden of which John tells us that there was a garden near the place where Jesus was crucified, for Jesus was crucified outside the garden, upon the rock of the ravine, so that the public road divided the rock of the cross from the dry-stone wall of the garden. Indeed, all the gardens round about Jerusalem are full of rocks, and are of an uneven surface because of the rocks rising through it. Wherefore men who had large rocks in their gardens used to hollow them out, and hew in them sepulchres and chambers for the dead. But if the rock were very large,

after they had hewn out one chamber, they would again cut a door on the further side of it, and hollow out another place to bury others of their friends in, and then they would again hew yet another chamber out of the rock. If the rock contained only one cave, it was called a simple cave, if two, a double cave, as we read in the twenty-third chapter of Genesis that Abraham bought a double cave. If it contained three chambers, it was called a triple cave, if four, a quadruple one, and so on. I have seen in certain gardens near the field which is called Aceldama, so many caves with walls of rock, one leading out of another, hewn one after another out of the living rock, that I did not dare to go as far as the last one, for after I had entered the third, and was no longer able to see the light which came through the door of the first cave, I stopped, frightened at the darkness: for, indeed, a man who went into them might lose himself and be unable to find the way out, because the ancients have cut very deep caverns into the rock to bury their dead in. So then Joseph of Arimathea, a man who was good and just, well born, and rich, powerful and wise, bought for himself this garden near the city at the side of the rock of Calvary, and caused the solid rock therein to be hollowed out. But when the Lord died, Joseph yielded up his right to this place, and gave both the garden and the rock to Christ, who was the first person buried therein, in the inner chamber. When He was taken down from the cross they carried Him from the rock of Calvary over the dry stone wall into this garden, anointed His body upon a stone prepared for this purpose, and bore it into the second cave; for the cave was a double one, and the first door, into the first cave, was wide and tall, leading into the middle of the cave. The door leading into the second cave was not opposite to the first door, because it was on a man's left hand as he went in. It was

a low and small door, and on the right-hand side [126a] was the place where the Lord was laid, on the north side, for there the hewing out had been purposely neglected, and only so much of the stone cut away as the body of a man lying on his back would occupy in length and breadth, being at the height of three palms and a half above the floor. Here observe that those who write about the Lord's sepulchre draw a distinction between the monument and the sepulchre : for the monument means the entire hollow rock and the whole chamber ; but the sepulchre means the stone coffin or tomb which contained the body. Now, the monument of the Lord did not contain a movable sepulchre or coffin, but one made out of the rock itself. There was, however, in the outer part a hollow place made to lay a body in, which body was placed in the midst of the sepulchre in such sort that above it was covered as if by a wooden plank, and below there was a base left rising from the ground, whereon the body was laid. This is what the holy men of old seem to mean when they describe the Lord's sepulchre. The author of 'Historia Sacra' quotes the Venerable Bede, and says : The monument of our Lord was a round cell, hewn out of the rock beneath it ; it is so high that a tall man can scarcely reach the top of it with his outstretched hand, and it has its entrance on the eastern side, against which a great stone was placed instead of a door. On the northern side of it is the place of the Lord's body, hewn out of the same stone, being seven feet in length, raised three palms high above the pavement, like a stone coffin set upon a base. The recess was cut in the wall itself, like those which are made in the walls of dwelling-houses to contain household utensils, and the coffin is not above this, but on the south side of it, so that it was, as it were, a recess or tomb lying sideways, having its opening not above, but at the

side. The colour of the monument and of the recess is said to have been a mixture of white and red. Thus saith the ‘Historia Sacra’ aforesaid. This was the original form of the Lord’s monument and sepulchre.

This arrangement was altered by the Emperor Ælius Hadrianus, who caused a temple of Venus to be built on this site, as has been already told, page 116 *a*. He did not pull down the Lord’s monument, or the rock Calvary, but was moved by God to include both of them within his temple, as they are at this day. But he showed such a want of reverence for the place as to set up an image of Jupiter in the cavern of the Lord’s sepulchre, and upon the rock of Calvary he placed a statue of Venus, as may be read in Jerome’s Epistle to Paulinus. In this ungodly and abominable condition the holy place remained for about one hundred and eighty years, being within the city wall, forasmuch as the aforesaid Hadrian filled up the ravine which served as a ditch to the city, and built a wall round it enclosing the temple within the city, as has been told on page 114 *b*. Henceforth the place became forgotten, and the sepulchre of Christ was turned into the chapel and oratory of Jupiter, while the rock of Calvary was made into the hill of Venus. [*b*] Thus the place was altogether given over to the worship of dæmons, and was filled with the errors of the heathen until the time of the blessed Helena, who cleansed it from the idolatrous shrines and reconsecrated it to Christ the Lord.

HOW THE HOLY SEPULCHRE STANDS AT THE PRESENT DAY, AND WHAT IT IS LIKE.

Secondly, we must see what the Lord’s sepulchre is now, of what appearance and shape it is. For this description I avail myself of the account of the Lord’s sepulchre

which a respectable man named Johannes Tucher, a citizen of Nuremberg, has written in the German tongue. He spent many days at Jerusalem in the year 1479, one year, that is, before my first visit, and he examined the Lord's sepulchre with the most minute care, and took its measurements with his hands, feet, and outstretched arms. I had his account of it with me at Jerusalem, and found all that he had written concerning the holy sepulchre to be true: wherefore I have translated it from the German tongue into Latin, and have inserted it into my Book of Wanderings, as being a really true description, and written by a respectable and truthful man. But lest anyone should be puzzled by the use of equivocal terms, it must be previously noted that wherever Master Johannes Tucher writes *Klaftern* in his German book, I have put 'cubit,' which measure is understood to mean the distance between a man's outstretched arms, from the end of the middle finger of one hand to the end of the middle finger of the other hand; and where he writes *Spanne*, there I shall put 'palm,' which is understood to mean the distance across the outstretched hand from the beginning of the thumb to the end of the ear-finger,¹ or middle finger.

Now, the aforesaid man, Johannes Tucher, describes the Lord's monument and sepulchre as follows: 'The Lord's monument appears from the outside to be like a low tower, not a lofty one, having twelve angles on its outside, at each of which angles stands a hexagonal stone column, one palm in thickness. These columns support a small vault which is above the monument, from which vault there projects a kind of cornice all round, which projects about half a foot beyond the columns. The whole round building, with its columns, measures twelve great cubits, measuring on the outside round about the whole monu-

¹ *Ohr-finger* in German = little finger.

ment, but measuring within it has rather less than nine palms in length, and the same in breadth. From the pavement to the top of the hollow vault it is of the height of a man and a half. The sepulchre or tomb within the monument is on the right-hand side of the little chamber, covered with a slab of polished white marble, on which Mass can be celebrated, and it is four palms and three fingers wide; and measuring upwards from the pavement by hand, it is three palms and four fingers high. The door of the cave, through which one enters it, is four palms and a half and three fingers in height. The wall or hole through the rock at the door is three palms in thickness. The height of the whole monument [127 a] or chamber, above the ground, together with the vault, is two great cubits and a half. Above the convex vault is built up a hexagonal tabernacle like a tower, with six pairs of columns, of two cubits in height, upon which rests the roof of the tabernacle, one cubit in height. The distance from the roof of this tabernacle upwards, measuring through the air straight up to the opening in the roof of the church, which opens above the monument, and through which the church is lighted, is about six cubits. This opening is round, and as wide as the whole building of the monument, so that if the monument were movable, and were hoisted upwards, it could pass out through that opening. Hence it clearly appears that the Lord's monument stands in the open air, and is rained and snowed upon through the aforesaid opening. The tabernacle itself is artificially constructed of polished marble, and was once gilded within and without, columns and roof alike, as may be seen at this day. From the foundation of this chapel up to the topmost pinnacle of the roof of the tabernacle above the main building it measures five cubits and a half, while the distance up from the foundation

to the opening in the roof of the church will be twelve cubits, or a little more. Moreover, as you go into the monument there is a kind of vestibule, which is six cubits wide all save one palm. The first¹ door into the small chapel (of the sepulchre) is in the midst of this, and is in height one great cubit and three palms and a half. The chapel before the cave of the tomb, that is to say, the outer cave, has one cubit and a half in width, the same in length, and a small square window on each side. In this same outer cave, three palms from the door of the inner cave, is a square stone raised upon a base, measuring two palms and a half square, upon which stone the angel is said to have sat after the Lord's resurrection.¹ This stone is a part of the great stone which was rolled to the door of the monument, mention of which was made on page 102 *b.*

Lo now, here is a description of the Lord's monument as it stands at this day, and the picture of the thing described may be seen with the eyes in the 'Pilgrimage,' written by that noble and clever man the Lord Bernard von Braitenbach, Dean of the Metropolitan Church of Mainz, who accompanied me in my second pilgrimage, during which he caused the shape of the Lord's monument to be depicted in an artistic drawing, as he did also with other things, which shall be mentioned in their place. He had brought with him a clever and well-taught painter, whom he had hired, who was to draw the manners and customs, and the appearance of all the principal cities and places from the port of Venice onwards, which he did in a masterly and truthful manner. Whosoever therefore pleases may look at his pictures, and will clearly understand the aforesaid description.

This monument of the Lord stands in the midst of the church of the Lord's resurrection, just as the sepulchre is

¹ I take this to mean the entrance into the outer court between the low walls leading to the Angel Chapel.—A.S.

placed in the parish church of Ulm on Good Friday. But the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is round, and open above, as the reader will understand.

The holy sepulchre has, in a manner of speaking, three entrances. The first is in the little court, which I call the first cave, which little court has a wall, so low that a man standing within it can lean his stomach upon it and look round the church ; [b] wherefore I have often sat upon that wall, and have looked down upon the goods of the merchants lying upon the pavement below. Indeed, the entrance to this little court is not nearly a door, for there is nothing above the head of him who enters it, inasmuch as it lacks the lintel ; but the entrance lies between two walls facing one another, and if these walls were higher, and a lintel were put across, there would be a door. The second door is that which leads from the little court into the first cave in the monument itself. This door is closed by a gate and fastened with locks : the keys of this door are now in the possession of the Latin Minorite brethren ; but a few years ago the Georgians had them. The third door is that which leads from that chapel, or first cave, into the second cave, wherein is the Lord's sepulchre. This cave has no window, nor is there any light in it save what comes from nineteen lamps which burn in it, which lamps hang above the Lord's sepulchre ; and inasmuch as the cave is small, the fire of the lamps makes a smoke and stench, which greatly troubles those who enter the place and remain therein. Besides the lamps there are many lighted candles burning upon the sepulchre ; which are placed there by pilgrims out of piety. Thus, by the smoke of the lamps and candles together the whole inside surface has been completely blackened, albeit it is cased with white and polished marble throughout, both the pavement, the walls, and the vault. And so much for this.

WHAT WE OUGHT TO THINK ABOUT THIS SEPULCHRE OF
OUR LORD: WHETHER IT IS REALLY HIS OWN, OR
ANOTHER ONE SUBSEQUENTLY BUILT.

In the third place we must see whether this monument and this sepulchre aforesaid is the same wherein the Lord was laid, from which also we believe Him to have risen. And this point is much more difficult than the other two. In order to decide it, I will quote what I have read in ancient and modern pilgrim books: for I should not like on my own responsibility to make any rash assertion which might either stop or weaken the reverence felt for the Lord's sepulchre among Christ's faithful people. Furthermore, a difficulty arises in this matter from the different and inconsistent descriptions of the holy sepulchre written by the ancients and moderns; and also from the varying condition of the city of Jerusalem, and its having been frequently laid in ruins, and even from the yearning devotion felt by those who visited the holy sepulchre and strove to carry away some part of it as a great relic. Doubts are caused likewise by the casing of the sepulchre, because neither within nor without, neither in the monument nor in the place where the body was laid, is there any rock or stone to be seen, but the whole, as has been told, is cased and covered over with white polished marble, which it was not originally. Let us therefore see what others think on this subject, and let us follow that account which seems the most probable.

A certain holy man named Arculfus, who visited the holy sepulchre, and was, as it seems to me, in Jerusalem long before the time of the Latin kings, and before the holy city was taken by the Saracens after the time of the Emperor Heraclius, says in his book: 'In the midst of the interior of the round church there is a round chamber cut out of a

single piece of rock, within which men can stand and pray. The vaulted roof is about a foot and a half above the head of a man of no small stature. The entrance of this little [128a] chamber is towards the east. The whole of its outer surface is covered with choice marble, and the highest part of its roof, which is ornamented with gold, sustains a golden cross of no small size. The sepulchre of the Lord is on the northern side of this chamber, and is cut out of the same rock as it, but the pavement of the chamber is lower than that of the place of sepulture. This chamber is not covered within by any ornamentation, but throughout its entire cavity shows the marks of the iron tools with which the workmen made it. The colour of the rock of the monument and sepulchre is twofold, red and white, mixed together, and so the same stone shows these two colours. Moreover, the sepulchre forms a couch capable of taking in one man lying on his back, and it is like a cave, having an opening which looks towards the south side of the monument from the opposite side. A low overhanging roof has been made above it. In this sepulchre twelve lamps, according to the number of the twelve Apostles, burn day and night.¹ The aforesaid Arculfus writes that he saw this, and many other things, which show that he must have seen the Holy Land a thousand years ago. I am much pleased with this description, because it agrees very much with the description given by the Venerable Bede, to be found on page 126.

A certain other pilgrim, who saw the Lord's sepulchre in the year of our Lord 1200, speaks of it thus: 'The cave, wherein is the sepulchre of the Lord, is everywhere coated with marble on the outside; but within it is bare rock, even as it was at the time of Christ's passion.' Now when he says that the whole outside of the cave was covered with

¹ See Professor Willis's 'Church of the Holy Sepulchre,' p. 47.

marble, if he means the entire surface, both inside and outside, then the cave was then in the same condition as at this day. But if he means to say that only the surface of the outer part was cased with marble, and that there was none inside, then it agrees with the former description. And this, I think, is what he did mean.

Another pilgrim speaks as follows : ‘The Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre is vaulted in a semicircular fashion, without any window, and within it is the sepulchre, which is hewn out of the solid rock ; but, lest it should be picked at by pilgrims, it is cased with slabs of marble. The slab which covers the front part of it has three openings, through which the true rock of the holy sepulchre can be felt and kissed. This slab is so cunningly joined to the rock that one would think that it was all one stone.’ The same writer says : ‘I believe that no church contains any of the true rock of the Lord’s sepulchre. For if,’ he goes on, ‘it could be carried away by pieces and grains at a time, it would have been carried off long ago, were it as large as a mountain.’ This same man says that no lamps are burned in the sepulchre except when pilgrims are sojourning there, because they pay for oil.

Another pilgrim was at the Lord’s sepulchre in the year 1430. He had gone thither at the instance of some cardinal to look into the matter, and he describes the holy sepulchre in the same manner as his predecessors, adding, however, what follows. ‘It must be borne in mind,’ says he, ‘that the monument which is built upon this most holy spot is not that wherein the dead body of Christ was originally laid, because Holy Writ tells us that the tomb of Christ was cut out of one solid stone, as all the ancient tombs are in those countries. But this one is made up of many stones, not very skilfully cemented together with mortar, nor is there any part of the true sepulchre there

except that on the left-hand side of it there juts out from the wall of the chapel a stone of the size of a man's head, white in colour, seven palms high above the ground, which is kissed by pilgrims as a relic of the true sepulchre of Christ.' Thus says he.

[b] The last pilgrims who have visited it give contradictory accounts of it in their books, and every one of them attempts thus to describe what he thought he saw, because no one presumes to contradict him. Some say that under the marble slabs the rock of the monument and holy sepulchre still exists entire, albeit no part of it is visible. Others say that no man knows for certain or can affirm that the true rock is or is not under the slabs. Others plainly assert that there has not been a piece as large as a grain of millet left there of the true stone. For this they allege several reasons. First, the hatred felt for the Christians by the heathen, whose spite against the Christians is so keen that they destroy every single thing which the Christians love and reverence. Now, they knew that the sepulchre of Christ was our greatest object of veneration, and this caused them to rage all the more furiously against it and tear it to pieces. Moreover, they knew that while the sepulchre existed the Christians would always pant for the recovery of the city of Jerusalem, but that if it were done away with they would care less about it, therefore they left no part of it standing. For the Saracens were oftentimes harassed, conquered, and put to rout by the Christians, and these Saracens, even when they had won the victory and had driven the Christians out of Jerusalem, avenged upon the holy sepulchre the wrongs and troubles which they in past times had suffered at the hands of the Christians, by destroying it, and ruining the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as an insult to the Christians. Secondly, another reason is given why no part of the holy sepulchre

remains in its place. When the Christians were for the last time conquered by the Saracens, and were forced to yield up Jerusalem to them and depart from it, they made a capitulation on the condition that they should be allowed to leave the city with their lives, and everything which they could carry with them. The Saracens agreed to this, that they should depart from Jerusalem carrying what they pleased with them. Then the Patriarch of Jerusalem with all his clergy, and the King of Jerusalem with all the chivalry of the holy city, departed from it ; on the course of which removal it is believed that they carried away with them everything which was reputed holy, down to its very foundations—among which things the holy sepulchre was the chief—in order that they might leave nothing behind to be trodden under foot by the heathen. Even at the present day the faithful who visit those lands carry off as many pieces of stone and earth as they are able, and if they could they would carry off the whole land, that it might not be trodden under foot by those swine. Let no one doubt this, that if it were possible to take away the whole place of the holy sepulchre, they would have taken it away long ago ; how much more then a rock, which they could carry away in pieces. Another reason why they say that nothing is left of the holy sepulchre is the rash zeal of the faithful, who cannot be restrained by any law or ordinance from carrying off pieces of the holy places, if they can. This argument proves that the rock of the holy sepulchre has been carried away long ago.

Others, on the other hand, combat these arguments, answering the first, that of the malice of the infidels, by declaring that it never was so fierce as to rage against the holy sepulchre, which is guarded by God and His angels, as has been told already on page 122 *b*. We read that when that most inhuman tyrant, Chosroes, burned

Jerusalem, and went to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to destroy it, he was seized with terror when he came near to the church, so that he hurried away from it, and could not reach the Lord's sepulchre. [129a] They knew also that, as long as the sepulchre existed, the Christians would spare no expense, but would always come to see it, and they might make much money out of them by tolls, and gain gold and silver for letting them enter the Lord's sepulchre: wherefore they preserved the holy sepulchre as a matter of profit and advantage, God increasing their love of money that thereby His sepulchre might be saved. Nor is it to be believed that the Saracens, when harassed by the Christians, would seek to revenge themselves upon the holy sepulchre so greatly to their own loss. I rather believe that they have allowed it to stand in order that the Christians may regard them more favourably, for they greatly fear them. Moreover, it does not seem reasonable to believe that the faithful, when they departed from Jerusalem, should have carried off from thence the holy sepulchre, since it was a solid rock, growing out of the bowels of the earth; and supposing that they did cut off the rock level with the ground, whither, pray, did they carry the rocks which they cut off? I have never in any church seen a stone from the holy sepulchre of the size of a man's finger, and yet I have been in many of the principal churches of the East and West. Neither is it to be understood that all Christians were turned out of Jerusalem, but only the Latins, against whom war was being made, not the other Eastern Christians. When the Latins were turned out, the Easterns entered into a treaty with the Soldan, swore allegiance to him, and obtained possession of the sepulchre, as I shall show hereafter. Nay, not even all the Latins went away, but many of them stayed there, associating themselves with the Saracens: which

men were excommunicated by the Pope. We also read that the Christians, when they were conquered by the Saracens, before leaving Jerusalem, made a treaty with them, that all pilgrims coming thither from the Latin countries should be admitted: to which they most willingly consented. So the Soldan continued to pay the dole which the King of Jerusalem had been wont to give every day to the pilgrims sojourning in the Hospital of St. John, just as the King of Jerusalem had done. There was therefore no question about carrying away the holy sepulchre. Yet what we read in history is nevertheless true, that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was once destroyed, and the holy sepulchre itself, yet never entirely so. With regard to this matter I made the following experiment: While keeping my vigil in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, I took a lighted candle, and went to the Lord's monument, which I examined most carefully to see whether I could find any part that was not covered with marble. I found that on the outside the whole of it was cased in marble all the way round. When I entered the first door into the outer chapel, I found the walls on either side covered with marble, but I found that the wall before my face, that which divides the outer cave from the inner one, and in which is the door leading into the Lord's sepulchre, was bare; and on holding my light near it I saw a wall cut out of the rock, not made of ashlar work, but all of one piece, with the marks of iron tools plainly to be seen upon it. In the upper part there seemed to have been a fracture, which had been mended with stones and cement. From this it appeared to me that the Lord's sepulchre had once been destroyed, but never completely rooted up; that what is now there is a restoration, and that it has stood for more than two hundred years as it appears this day, save that it is now more carefully encased

with marble, lest the pilgrims should pick off pieces from the walls for relics, and for this same reason [b] the aforementioned slab with three openings was put in front of the holy sepulchre, because the pilgrims used to bore into it with iron tools in order to get off pieces of it. Though the pilgrims have always striven to get pieces of the holy sepulchre, they have never been allowed to do so, but other stones are offered them in the place of the true rock : for guardians are always present in the holy sepulchre, who stop those who want to break off pieces. Wherefore the argument about the indiscreet zeal of the faithful falls to the ground : for even supposing them to have this indiscreet zeal, they are not permitted to act indiscreetly.

It is clear, also, from what has been said, that the Lord's sepulchre originally had its upper part pointed, so that it was like a roof, and covered the tomb with a ridged back, as the coverings of tombs are wont to be made; but the faithful have planed down this raised part, and have made the cover flat, like a table, so that Mass can be celebrated in the holy sepulchre upon the tomb.

From all that has been said about the holy sepulchre, the devout and quiet pilgrim should grasp this fact, that whether the cave as it stands at the present day be the true and entire monument of Christ, or whether a part of it be there, or whether none of it be there, matters very little either one way or the other, because the main fact connected with the place abides there, and cannot by any means be carried away or demolished, the fact, to wit, that this was the place of the most holy burial and resurrection of Christ, where, albeit there may not be the very monument wherein Christ's body was laid, there is nevertheless a monument erected to Christ, and in which the sacrament of His body has oftentimes been celebrated : it is a double cave, exactly like the original tomb, and equally

holy, reverend, and venerable : even as the tables which Moses made in the likeness of the first tables which he broke contained the same commandments, and were equally holy and reverend, so that they were deposited in the ark of the covenant as most important and most holy relics. Let this suffice about the holy sepulchre.

In some of the ancient pilgrims' books I have found the following verses, which they found carved upon the stones of the holy sepulchre, which inscription, however, I did not see.

Above the flat slab of the sepulchre was written :

'Here He lay dead, when Death by dying He o'ercame ;
Here slept the Lion which awake the world did tame.'

Above the door of the monument was written :

'Ye that do pass My sepulchre to-day
Behold the print of where My body lay
For three long days, when I did die for thee,
And chained fierce Behemoth, who erst was free.
I burst for aye the direful bonds of hell,
And raised My children up, in heaven with Me to dwell.'

Round about the dome of the holy sepulchre was written :

'Life once died, and was buried in this grave,
That death was life, and us from death did save.
For He that crushed hell's pow'r beneath His feet,
And bravely led His troops the foe to meet,
That Lion bold in triumph hence did rise ;
Hell groans, Death mourns that he hath lost his prize.'

THE POSITION OF MOUNT CALVARY, AND A SHORT DESCRIPTION THEREOF.

Mount Calvary holds the second place, next to the holy sepulchre, in dignity and sanctity. Wherefore, although its description has been given already on page 117 *b*, yet it is repeated here because it here finds its proper place ; and certain points which were forgotten elsewhere are here

noted. Herein it should be noted that Mount Calvary, or Golgotha, is a place on the north side of Mount Sion, and that there is a difference when one speaks of 'Mount' Calvary, and of the 'rock' or 'cliff' of Calvary. Mount Calvary includes a great part of the city. The place of Calvary is the whole enclosure containing the entire church. The rock of Calvary contains only the cross of Christ and those of the thieves. Mount Calvary is the name given to the whole of the high ground, which reaches from the ancient gate, part of which is still standing, up as far as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Indeed, it is a good way up the hill from the cross-road, where Christ said to the weeping women, 'Ye daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for Me,' and so on, up to the place of the crucifixion; and up above there is a wide space, whereon stands the whole Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and all of this region is Mount Calvary or Golgotha, so that in this sense the Church of the Holy Sepulchre lies upon Mount Calvary. But the rock of Calvary is the place or monticle whereon stood the holy cross with our Lord and the two thieves, as has been shown before. There are three ways leading up to this most holy rock. The first is from the church of Golgotha, from the place where is the centre of the world; the second is from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which lies below it; and the third is from the outer court of the church. This ascent has been blocked up by the Saracens, as have the other doors leading into the church, lest anyone should be able to get into the church without their knowledge. So then the rock of Calvary is the rock of the cross; and Mount Calvary is all uphill from the house of the Rich Man, or from the afore-mentioned cross-way: yet it must not be supposed that Mount Calvary is a lofty place, overlooking all the places round about it, because both on the western and

the southern side there are higher places than it; but it is called a mount by comparison with those places from which one ascends to it, as has been said. So much for this. For a further account of this mount see page 115, *sq.*, and page 255.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE AND ITS ARRANGEMENT.

In describing the Temple or Church of the Holy Sepulchre, we shall consider four points: First, ‘Who founded it?’ Second, ‘What glory and honour did it receive in old times?’ Third, ‘What is its condition at the present day?’ Fourth, ‘Who they are who officiate therein, and the differences between the various sects who worship Christ therein.’ The result of a careful consideration of these four will be a full description, and consequently complete understanding thereof.

WHO WAS THE FOUNDER OF THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE, AND HOW MANY TIMES IT HAS BEEN DESTROYED AND RESTORED.

Who built the Church of the Lord’s Sepulchre is a doubtful matter, because of the various accounts given by those who have written on the subject. Some imagine that this church was the temple of Venus, which the Emperor *Ælius Hadrianus* built on the site of the crucifixion and resurrection, and that St. Helena, when she came, cast out the idols and consecrated the building to Christ.

Some, again, say that she utterly destroyed the aforesaid temple, and built this church. We also read in the books of the wars between the Christians and the Saracens, that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was often destroyed by the infidels and rebuilt by the believers. Chosroes endea-

voured to destroy this church, but was terrified by its Divine power and fled from it. When the Tartars occupied the Holy Land and Jerusalem, they are said to have overthrown the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at the time when the city was taken. But not long after this the Emperor of Constantinople came to Jerusalem, and rebuilt the church in the same fashion as before. After this the Saracens wreaked their anger against the Christians upon this church, and utterly destroyed it; but one of the Emperors of Constantinople rebuilt it. For a true and trustworthy account of this, see page 264 *b*, where also the place of the crucifixion and that of the sepulchre are described.

HOW GLORIOUS THE SEPULCHRE WAS IN THE DAYS OF OLD ; ITS RELICS, AND ITS ORNAMENTS.

In the days of old this temple was very glorious both in its structure and its services, and was not only sacred because of the holy places which it enclosed, but also because of the most precious relics which were preserved in it. There once was kept the holy cross, as is described on page 111 *a*, and the other instruments of Christ's passion which were found by St. Helena. There once was displayed a great chain, which was put round the neck of the Lord Jesus when He was taken in the garden, which chain was also put round the necks of the pilgrims who visited the church, and many miracles were wrought by it. There also was shown a great silver cup, of which the Lord Jesus partook at the last supper with His disciples, and of which He said, 'This cup is the new testament in My blood' (Luke xxii. 20). There, too, was the basin wherein the Lord Jesus washed the feet of His disciples at the last supper. In this church was that most precious napkin which the most blessed Virgin Mary bound about the head of the Lord Jesus when He was taken down

from the cross, as has been told on page 117. Of this napkin we read, in John xx., that Peter when he entered into the sepulchre saw the linen clothes lying there, and the napkin that was about the head of Jesus not lying with the linen clothes, but wrapped together in a place by itself. Thus it remained lying in the sepulchre for some days after Christ's resurrection. Now, a certain Jew, as rumours were spread abroad of Christ's resurrection, secretly entered the Lord's sepulchre, and seeing this napkin neatly folded up, took it away to his own house, for he was a poor and wretched Jew. From the hour when he brought that napkin into his house [131 a] the Lord blessed the house of that Jew, and he became rich and renowned. When the Jew perceived this, he locked up the napkin with the utmost care as a most valuable treasure, yet was he not converted to Christ, but remained obstinate in his unbelief to the end, when, calling his two sons to him, he divided his substance between them, giving the napkin to the elder, and all his other property to the younger. The elder son treated the napkin with scorn, although his father said it was more precious than all his other wealth, and exchanged it with his younger brother; thus the napkin came into the hands of the younger brother, who prospered more and more every day, while, on the other hand, the elder's fortune declined daily. When the inheritor of the napkin was himself in extreme old age, he bequeathed it to his best beloved son, telling him of its virtues and of the place in which it was found. He received the napkin and suddenly became a rich man, and thus the Jews of that family continually became richer and more respected. The napkin descended by hereditary right from father to son to the fifth generation, in which there was a dispute between two brothers about the napkin, and the matter became public. Hearing of this, the Christians urged their

claim to the napkin as their own property ; but the Jews were by no means willing to give it to them, and there arose a great tumult in Jerusalem, the Christians fighting with the Jews for the napkin. To allay this disorder the wise men determined to call in a judge and arbitrator on the matter, who should neither be a Christian nor a Jew, and by whose decision both parties should abide. When this was agreed upon, Mabius, a king of the Saracens, was called in to give sentence about the napkin, and all the circumstances were related to him by both parties. On the appointed day all the people, Christian, Jewish, and others, were called together ; he sat on a seat of judgment in a public place, and ordered the napkin to be brought to him. It was brought to him in a casket. He next ordered wood to be brought, and a great fire to be lighted in the midst of the people. The Jews stood on one side of this fire, the Christians on the other, and the heathen between them. When the king took the napkin, he cried with a loud voice : ‘ Lo, Jesus of Nazareth, here is Thy napkin. Decide Thou to which party it belongs.’ Saying thus he hurled the napkin into the flames. After it had been thrown in and had remained in the fire for some little time, all thought that it must be burnt. But, lo ! of a sudden it rose from the fire unharmed, soared aloft, began to fly, even as a bird flies with outstretched wings, and after fluttering round and round for some time in the air, gradually began to descend. All stood with eager faces and uplifted hands watching to which party it would fly. Guided by an angel, it settled on the arms of the Christians, who received it on their bended knees, and with great rejoicing bore it to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. There it remained for many years, and was greatly venerated, as being not the least among the relics of the holy sepulchre.

Furthermore, in old times the Lord distinguished this holy church by many miracles, among which was that notable one, that on every Easter Eve, when all the people were gathered together and all lights put out, so that there was not a single spark in the whole church, [b] of a sudden while the clergy chanted the service and the people prayed, in a moment lightning came down from heaven, and as it were fired the whole church, so that no one who was present could steadfastly behold that celestial radiance, by which the Paschal candles and all the other lamps and tapers were lighted. When this had been done it departed. This miracle took place for many years, and as soon as it ceased the Lord's sepulchre fell straightway into the hands of the heathen. They also say that when at last the Holy Land was recovered that holy fire returned, and lighted the candles; but when it ceased to come the Christians were driven out. For it is an evident sign to the Christians, if that Easter fire appears, that they are worthy inhabitants of the holy city and possessors of the Lord's sepulchre. If it appears not, then even though they may be actually in possession of the Holy Land, yet their kingdom will soon pass away. At the present day all the Christians who are in Jerusalem assemble in the church on Easter Eve, and the Greeks shut their priest into the Lord's monument with an unlighted candle, which he brings forth lighted, with a loud cry, and from which all the lamps are lighted. But it is not lighted by a miracle, but artificially, albeit the ignorant mob raises its cries to heaven, praising God, as though a miracle had been wrought, and so they noise it abroad among the people and even among the Saracens. I have heard it as a truth that the Saracens say: 'If the Christians really had their Easter fire brought down from heaven as they say they do, and could prove it to us, we should be willing to be

converted to the faith of Christ.' But, alas! we see not our tokens, there is not one prophet more; no, not one is there among us that understandeth any more.¹ With regard to this miraculous lighting of the fire and of the Easter candle, Jerome says nothing about it in those of his works which I have read, though he has nevertheless written an elegant treatise and an admirable letter to Presidius the deacon on the subject of the lighting of the Easter candle. Neither does Gregory of Tours, a writer on the subject of ancient miracles, make mention of that fire.

With regard to this fire there is a beautiful story to be found on page 264. Besides what I have told you, there used to be assemblies and disputations in this church against heretics, and those who were present at them were convinced of their errors either by the arguments of the true faith or by miracles, as, for instance, Cyril in his epistle to Augustine alludes to some leaders of heretical sects who were confuted therein.

THE FORM IN WHICH THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE NOW STANDS, AND ITS DESCRIPTION IN MODERN TIMES, IS GIVEN HERE.

There remains for us to see what the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is like at the present day. Herein it must be noted that this church has three names, because it is a double church, and each part has its own name, and the whole also has its own name.

The church in which the Lord's monument stands is called the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; the church in which is the centre of the world, near Calvary, is called the Church of Golgotha. Both these churches together are called the Church of the Anastasis, or Resurrection of the

¹ Ps. lxxiv. 9.

Lord. It is, in truth, only one church, whereof the nave, which contains the holy sepulchre, is called the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The choir of this same church is called the Church of Golgotha, because it stands on the place called Golgotha. The church is a great and costly one, and were there nothing more than the nave in which the Lord's sepulchre stands, not counting the choir, yet this by itself would make a large church. This church, not counting the choir, is round, supported throughout its entire circuit by marble columns; its diameter between the columns is seventy-three feet, and from the rear of the columns to the wall of the church is thirty feet. This space extends all round, and forms a passage between the columns and the outer wall of the church. This passage is vaulted over, and its vault rests on one side upon the aforesaid [132 a] columns, on the other on the circular outer wall. Above this vault there once was a public circular passage, and altars, and close to the door of the church there is a stone staircase leading up to these galleries. At the present day there are various chambers and choirs, divided one from another by walls, in which Christians of other rites perform their worship. Arches extend from one column to another, above which a wall rises up to the roof. In this wall are windows, through which one can look into the church from the circular gallery above the vault, and can look down upon the Lord's sepulchre. The highest part of this round church has not a stone roof, but a wooden one made of beams of cedar, so arranged that, instead of meeting in a pinnacle, the beams which rise from the wall opposite to one another meet in a great circle, and form a round opening, through which light is spread throughout the whole church, and immediately beneath which opening, exposed to the weather, stands the Lord's monument. This is explained

above on page 127 *a*. The planks and beams are covered with lead on their outer side, that side, I mean, which looks towards the sky, but on their under side they are painted in divers colours. The walls under the roof and under the arches are adorned with pictures from the New Testament in mosaic work, but these most precious figures are dropping to pieces with age, and there is no one to restore the fallen parts. Round about this round church there are many chapels, as was shown in the account of the procession. In the midst of it is the Lord's sepulchre. On its eastern side is a large and beautiful choir, into which the door of the holy sepulchre looks directly, as they stand door to door. In the midst of the choir there is a large and lofty dome vaulted above the place where lies the centre of the earth, and there is a way up to the top of this dome on the outside, where one can see by experiment that this is the centre of the world, as I have said before, page 117 *b*. This choir belongs to the Greeks, and beside the altar is the marble patriarchal throne, on which is written in very ancient Latin letters : '*Crucifixum in carne laudate, et sepultum propter nos glorificate, resurgentemque a mortuis adorate.*' Above the place where the cross was set up, the author of 'Speculum Historiale' says that there was the following inscription : *O Theos, God, Basileus imon, our King, pro ænon, before the ages, ergase, wrought, sophias, salvation, en meso, in the midst, Tisgis, of the earth.* In this church there are many chapels both above and below, within and without, now desecrated, but in which once lamps used to burn, and whose altars were once bright with gold and their windows with glass; but now there are no lamps, the altars are destroyed, the windows closed and blocked up with stones. The greater part of the windows are blocked up with stones, and all the doors are blocked up save one, whose keys are kept by

the Saracens, by which door one enters the church. On the western side steps lead up to a firmly closed door, by which St. Mary of Egypt once endeavoured to gain admittance, but was driven away until she vowed to amend her life, as we may read clearly set forth in the ‘Lives of the Fathers.’ [b] In consequence of this blocking up of the windows and doors the church is dark, but the pavement of the whole church is level, and of polished marble, so that even when walking in the dark one does not stumble. In one part of the church, outside the wall, there is a large cistern, containing excellent water for the use of the guardians of the church. In another place also there is a way out of the church into an uncovered court, surrounded by lofty walls, in which are decent places for men to do their needs. This church has connected with it a lofty tower built of white marble stone, wherein once hung bells, and the beams and woodwork to support them may still be seen in the upper part where they used to hang. But when Jerusalem was lost the bells were all cast down, for heathens of the rite of Mahomet cannot endure bells, because they have a commandment in their Alcoran not to use bells for the service of God, nor to suffer them to be so used. Yet it is said that they like to hear their chimes; but that the only reason why they do not have them is for fear that they should imitate us, against which the accursed Mahomet always took precautions. This tower is the first part of all to be seen when one comes from Bethany to Jerusalem, as I have often noticed. The lintel above the door of the church is of the whitest marble, and on the outer side is sculptured with figures representing our Lord’s entry into Jerusalem riding upon an ass, His casting out the buyers and sellers from the temple, and His raising of Lazarus; but the figures have been broken by violence and their limbs mutilated. Above the doors

of the church these verses are said to have been inscribed on the stone, though I could not see them :

‘Anno milleno centeno quominus uno,
Quindecies Nilo jam Phœbi lumine tacto,
Vitæ plus sacræ studio quam mitigare acre,
Jerusalem Franci capiunt virtute potenti.’¹

In the courtyard of the church stand columns of most costly marble, which support an entablature, and adorn the cloister. If anyone wishes to see the form of this church, let him look at the ‘Pilgrimage,’ written by that eminent lord and clever man, Lord Bernhard of Braitenbach, Dean of the Metropolitan Church of Mainz, where he will be able to see its image drawn clearly as if he were standing in the courtyard and beholding it with his eyes.

HOW THE ANASTASIS IS COMMON TO ALL CHRISTIANS,
AND HOW PILGRIMS ARE NEVER PERMITTED TO
ENTER IT UNLESS THEY PAY THE CHURCH FEE ;
AND THE WAY BY WHICH ONE ENTERS THE CHURCH,
AND THE VARIETY OF SECTS IN THE CHURCH.

Fourth and lastly we must consider those who dwell in the aforesaid church, and who the men are who hold their services thererin. In connection with this subject we shall see a horrible and portentous matter ; for this church is made after the pattern of Noah’s Ark, wherein were all the different kinds of beasts, clean and unclean alike, with the exception of fishes. Even so here no fish, that is to say, no one who is sunk in the waters of unbelief, no idolater, no one who positively denies Christ, can find a place ; nor can he obtain standing room there, [133a] just as a fish

¹ Another version of these lines is quoted by John of Würzburg, who says that they are to be found on a tomb placed in the outer wall of the church in a corner between the main church and the chapel of St. John the Baptist.

cannot live out of water. Only the followers of Christ abide there, and that whether they be clean in the true belief, or unclean with heretical depravity, whether they be of the civilized household of the Catholic faith, or wild men of the woods of schismatic dissent. Whatsoever race worships Christ as God, in whatever manner it believes this dogma, whether it believes Him to be coeternal with the Father and coequal, or not ; whether it regards Him as a creator or a mere creature, a real man or a phantom ; whether they believe that He suffered, or did not suffer ; that He died, or did not die ; that the sacraments have any power, or not ; that the Pope is the Vicar of Christ, or not : every one of these sects finds persons of their own belief in this church, and are allowed to enter it. At the present day, if there were to come any sect polluted with so atrocious a heresy that none of those already in that holy church would be willing to admit it to their services, yet the Soldan would assign to this same sect a choir and abiding-place of its own in that church, even though it believed Christ to have been a beast and no man, provided only it said that Christ was its God. There no one is shut out, no one is turned away : whosoever pays the Saracens the church fee, five ducats for entrance, he enters in, however unclean he may be. They will not open the church to any Christian without payment of the five ducats, and herein they do not spare even the brethren of Mount Sion, whom they will not admit without payment of this fee save at the season when pilgrims visit Jerusalem, with whom they pass in gratis. At the time when the pilgrims are away from Jerusalem, the brethren are not able to change the guardians of the church, but those who are sent in thither in charge of pilgrims, and are deputed to be guardians of the holy sepulchre, remain there unrelieved till the arrival of next season's pilgrims. Those brethren

who are placed there as guardians cannot go out of the church, neither can the other brethren come in, unless they pay the fee; and the fee must be paid if they wish to change the guardians.

However, twice a year they throw open the doors of the church, and admit all Christians gratis, to wit, from Good Friday until Easter Monday, and from the vigil of the Invention of the Cross till vespers on the day following. On those days the church is crowded with men and women from all the countries of the world, and there is a great deal of pushing and disorder by reason of the multitude of people. Then one hears spoken there all the languages of the world, and at those times a market of precious rarities is held within the church. Save on these two occasions, the church is never opened except for ready money: not as it was long ago when times were different; for then Catholic Christians were able to enter it free, at any hour, nor was any heretic or schismatic, under any pretext, admitted into that church, either free or for a price. But since the Lord's sepulchre has been taken by the enemy, the pilgrims are become prisoners, so that they can do nothing in Jerusalem save what the Saracens please.

A few years ago it was the custom for the Saracens to open the church at sunrise, to keep the pilgrims locked up therein till vespers, and to turn them out at sunset: and this was bearable; but now they manage it the contrary way, for they open the doors for us late, and turn us out in the morning, which is very troublesome and uncomfortable, because we get little or no sleep on those nights which we pass in the church, because of the frequent visits which are made to the holy places in procession, the long continuance of Divine service, the yells and strange outcries of the Eastern Christians, who fill the church all night long with their discordant clamour, the bargaining of the traders,

and, lastly, the extraordinary number of the fleas, [b] who are jumping all about the pavement, and whenever a man lays himself down to sleep or to pray, he is straightway covered with fleas, and can get no rest. Whence they come I know not, save that perchance they may be bred naturally from the marble, and it may be that the guardians of the church feed them, and do not kill them. After such a night of toil and watching, the instant we are turned out we are forced to go on to other holy places which must be visited, and thus undergo more fatigue, so that the pilgrims are quite worn out by watching, fasting, and labouring, and are scarcely allowed time for eating a morsel of food. Wherefore this rule presses hard upon them in this respect, although from other points of view it is better than the other; for I would much rather be shut up in the church by night than by day.

THE VARIOUS RACES OF MEN WHO DWELL IN THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

As the variety of created beings ornaments the universe, and displays the wondrous perfection of the Creator, so the different nations, manners, languages, and rites would greatly adorn the Catholic Church, and show the wondrous perfection of our Redeemer, if only the obstinate and abominable errors of heathens, heretics, and schismatics were not found among them, although even these prove God to be wondrous and perfect. Thus the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is more beautiful than all the other churches in the world from the variety of the nations who praise God therein, yet it is rendered hideous and shocking by the abominable errors of those who enter it. In the good old times Christians from all parts of the world, and speaking all languages, used to enter it, desiring to worship God, without any errors, treacheries, or

superstitions, while excommunicated persons, schismatics, and outcast heretics, of whom, alas ! the temple is now full, by whom the holy building is defiled, were then denied admittance. Howbeit, there are seven different kinds of Christians in this church, whereof each has its own sect, its own ritual, and its own choir, together with various deadly errors even in the essentials of the faith. Of these errors it would take long to tell; but should anyone wish to gain some insight into this matter, let him read the Book of the Pilgrimage of my Lord the Dean of Mainz, which was written for him by that eminent and venerable Doctor of Divinity, Father Martin Röth, of the Dominican convent of Pforzheim, who, as becomes his learning, has added to that Book of Pilgrimage a long and accurate dissertation on the doctrinal errors of the dwellers in Jerusalem. Hereafter I shall not touch at all, or only very slightly, on this subject, but shall only tell briefly what places in the holy church are held by these nations.

THE LATIN CATHOLICS.

The Latin Christians are the first in place: they are true Catholics, and are called Franks by the Saracens; they dwell in this church, and are orthodox in faith, devout professed monks, religious men, of the Minorite order, who, as aforesaid, have a convent on Mount Sion, containing many brethren; [134 a] that is to say, twenty-four. They live under the regular rule of their order, supported by the alms of the devout pilgrims who come thither from Christendom, and of some believing princes whose devotion towards the holy places and Christian piety moves them not to omit to send their yearly charitable offerings thither. Indeed, the late Duke Philip of Burgundy, of blessed memory, bestowed upon the holy places an annual

sum of one thousand ducats as long as he lived, for the salvation of his own soul and the support of the brethren who serve God there, as did also his son Charles while he was in this world. So likewise his successor in modern times, the most illustrious and puissant Lord Maximilian, Duke of Austria and Burgundy, now of late elected most glorious King of the Romans, imitating the example of his predecessors in the Duchy of Burgundy, sends the brethren their usual subsidy. For an account of these brethren and their convent, see the description of our visit to the holy places on Mount Sion within the precincts of that monastery, on the thirteenth day of this month, especially on pages 96 *b* and 108 *b*.

The brethren, on behalf of all Latin Christians, keep at least three of their number in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, as guardians of the most holy monument. These friars remain there day and night, and represent the whole body of the Latin and Roman Church. Their provisions are handed to them through holes in the door of the church by the brethren of Mount Sion. They have the best and most holy places in the church, for they own the keys of the most precious sepulchre and cave of the Lord Jesus, and open it to whomsoever they please, and say Masses in it whenever they choose: nor dare the priests of other sects celebrate Mass there, save with the express leave and permission of the Latins. It would take long to tell how this so remarkable power over the most holy tomb of the Lord came into the hands of us Latins. It is not very long since the Georgians bore rule over the Lord's sepulchre. Indeed, it is a wonder that the other Christians of the other sects should suffer the Latins to have these privileges, seeing that there is no sect of Christians of whom so few dwell in Jerusalem as the Latins, and that in their way of life, customs, and dress

they are more unlike the Saracens than any other Christians whatever. Furthermore, three of the lamps which are always burning in the holy sepulchre belong to the Latins, and are supplied by them with oil and fire; the remaining sixteen are kept up by the other sects. The Latins also own the chapel of the Blessed Virgin, described above, page 110 *b*, and there they say Mass and her hours. Behind this chapel they have a roomy place for sleeping, cooking, eating, and doing their needs. In that chapel three lamps are kept burning. On Mount Calvary the Latins have an altar of their own, and three lighted lamps upon the rock of Christ. In the place of the Invention of the Cross of Christ they have one altar, and one lighted lamp in the cave where Christ's cross was found. They have also one lighted lamp at the place [*b*] where the Lord's body was anointed after it was taken down from the cross.

The Bohemians are still in communion with the Latins in Jerusalem, and when they come to Jerusalem they dwell with the Latins, and take part in their services, although they have left the Church of Rome, and their heresies wax greater every day. So likewise the Glagolae¹ dwell with us, albeit they do not say Mass in Latin, but in their own mother tongue, because they receive their holy orders at Rome, and are not heretics.

WHAT PART OF THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE BELONGS TO THE GREEKS.

The Greeks have the chief place in that holy church, that is, the choir and head of the whole Anastasis. In

¹ 'Glagolita, an ancient Slavonian alphabet, principally used in the Roman Catholic dioceses of Istria and Dalmatia, in the psalms, liturgies, and offices of the church. The use of this liturgy was confirmed to the priesthood by a bull of Pope Innocent IV., 1248. McClintock and Strong's 'Cyclopædia,' New York, 1873.'

the primitive church these Greeks were celebrated and glorious in the faith, having many fine cities, and four splendid cathedral churches belonging to the Patriarchs of Antioch, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Constantinople, which they long possessed in obedience to the Church. At length, however, they departed from it, and have fallen into the worst of errors, even unto blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, against the order of the sacraments, and the authority of the Church of Rome. Several times, convicted by reason, they have returned to the bosom of the Church, but have relapsed twelve times, and now, obstinate in their errors, they live together with the Turks and Saracens, and pitilessly persecute the Latins in every way that they can. Never would the Turks and Saracens have grown so powerful had not these Greeks been traitors. The other Eastern Christians would long ago have been brought back to the unity of the church, and might easily be brought back at this day if these proud and faithless Greeks did not prevent them, and lead away again even those who have been brought back. Yet in spite of these wickednesses they have the presumption to enter the most holy church of the Lord's sepulchre, and they who are the head of transgression have unjustly taken to themselves the head of the church, and at this day they own the choir and the high altar, and keep many lamps burning before it. They also own the Lord's Prison, mentioned above, page 112*a*, wherein they have an altar and one lighted lamp. On Mount Calvary they have two altars, because the Georgians, who own the mount, are of their sect. In the underground chapel of St. Helena they have one lighted lamp. They likewise own the place where Christ's garments were parted, and therein one altar and one lighted lamp. So much for them.

THE GEORGIANS, WHAT SORT OF CHRISTIANS THEY ARE,
AND WHAT PLACES IN THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY
SEPULCHRE BELONG TO THEM.

The Georgians, who are also called Nubians, and who are most generally known as Christians of the Cincture, come from parts very far distant from the Holy Land, and are warriors, who even train their women to fight. They are Christians, but tainted throughout with the same errors as the Greeks. In the Church of the Holy Sepulchre they own Mount Calvary, and they always have a guardian of the holy rock shut up in the church. They have not had this holy place long, but only for the last fifteen years ; for they offered presents to the King of Egypt, the Soldan, who turned out the [135 *a*] Armenians from it and put in the Georgians in their stead. They also own the place and cave of the Invention of the Holy Cross, and three lamps therein, which, however, they seldom light. They also own the chapel beneath Mount Calvary, wherein the Latin Kings of Jerusalem were buried, whereof I have told you on page 117 *a*.

THE JACOBITE HERETICS.

There are also Jacobites in the church, who in their own countries in the East possess many kingdoms. They are peculiarly heretical, and err damnably on many points. They keep up the rite of circumcision ; they administer the sacrament in both kinds to children at their mother's breast, and labour under manifold errors about the manhood of Christ. These people own a small chapel adjoining the Lord's monument, wherein they have an altar and lamps. They likewise own the place where the Lord was anointed, and have there seven lighted lamps.

THE INDIAN CHRISTIANS, OR ABISSINI [*sic*].

The Abassini [*sic*], or Indian Christians, who live under the rule of an abbot, also own a part of our Church of the Holy Sepulchre. They are men of very austere life, very poor, and full of errors. Their laity zealously assemble for Mass on festival days, and thereon all of them, of both sexes, begin to sing praises, and to jump with their feet and clap their hands together, assembling together in circles of six or seven, or as many as nine or ten; and sometimes they sing in this manner all night long, more especially on the night of Christ's resurrection, when they never cease singing and running to and fro until the dawn of day, and they do this with such fervent zeal that many of them fall ill through their labours. But though they perform these works, and keep these days holy, yet they are tainted with most pernicious errors, and are heretics abhorred by the Holy Church. They follow the Jews, Saracens, and Jacobites in observing the useless, nay, damnable rite of circumcision, and they brand their children on the face with a pencil of hot iron, and do not care to receive baptism with water. These men have a chapel, in which, beneath the altar, stands the stone whereon our Lord sat when He was crowned with the crown of thorns; and they have a lamp and an altar. Their chapel and its altars, in which they hold service daily, is on the left-hand side as you come into the holy sepulchre, between the columns of the church, shut in, instead of walls, by cloths and mats, and other hangings, which are suspended by ropes.

THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS.

The Syrian Christians dwell in miserable slavery under the rule of various heathen princes, and are tainted by the errors of the Greeks, whom they imitate. They are

heretics, faithless, treacherous and thievish, and are jealous of their wives, like the Saracens. These men also are with us in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and possess the chapel of St. Helena, where they perform their service. They live by the side of the Indians in a tent, surrounded by cloths and the like.

[b] THE CHRISTIAN ARMENIANS ; OF WHAT SORT
THEY ARE.

The Armenians also share this church with us. They come from Armenia, and are the implacable enemies of the Greeks, yet are they not careful to avoid their errors, nor are they free from them. When they celebrate Mass they do not mix water with the wine, like the Greeks : they eat meat on Friday, and they will not keep the Lord's Nativity as a feast, but fast thereon, giving as their reason for so doing, that it was on that day that the Lord was born into the miseries of our life ; but they keep the Epiphany as a solemn feast, because of Christ's baptism, and they call this the feast of Christ's spiritual nativity : wherein also they err. These Armenians, as I said before when speaking of the Georgians, used to possess Mount Calvary ; but when they lost it they bought from the Soldan a place in the upper gallery of the church, where they have consecrated a choir, and made chambers to dwell in. The Armenians do not differ from us as much as some of the aforesaid sects. Indeed, I have heard that Armenians are often met with who have no priests except Dominican friars, who are to them bishops, and curates, and priests, and these are the best of Catholics, having been converted to the true faith by a brother of our Order, who has translated into their language the '*Summa Theologiae*' of Thomas Aquinas, and some other books by Catholic doctors. These Armenians are wont from time to time to visit the General Master of the Order of St.

Dominic, and show themselves to be his children in obedience, and they very devoutly visit the sepulchre of our father Saint Dominic. This I have been told by many brethren who have seen them, and have heard them conversing with the General in the best way they could, for they have no Latin, and are ignorant of the Italian tongue.

The aforementioned Christian nations remained in Jerusalem when the city was taken by the Saracens: the Latins, the patriarch and the King of Jerusalem, were then driven out, with all their followers, and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was handed over to these Christians, on condition, however, that they bought the places in it for which they wished: as indeed they did. So the confusion of this mixed multitude began in the church in the year of our Lord 1187, on the eleventh day of October, and since then all the aforesaid nations, except the Latins, have continued to dwell in Jerusalem as subjects and tributaries to the Saracens. The holy city remained for many years without the Latin Christians, until Robert, King of Sicily, bought certain holy places from the Soldan for much gold, and handed them over to the Minorite brethren, who possess them even to this day. About these places see above, page 108 *b*.

Besides the nations already mentioned, there are many in Jerusalem who do not profess the Christian faith, to wit, Saracens, Jews, Turks, Samaritans, and Mamelukes, of all of whom a perspicuous account is given by the oft-mentioned magnificent Lord Bernard of Braitenbach, who, sparing no expense on the proper composition of his Itinerary, or Book of his Pilgrimage, procured that venerable teacher, enlightened theologian, and graceful orator, Father Martin Roth (*sic*), of the Order [136a] of St. Dominic, who has written the book of the travels of the aforesaid lord in an ornate and cultured style, and has clearly

described the various nations who dwell in Jerusalem with all their errors, frowardnesses and customs, blaming them for their errors, and setting forth most valuable theological doctrines, together with solutions of many difficult points. He also hired a man of art, named Erhard Rewich, a most cunning painter, who has drawn the seaports, cities, places on land, especially in the Holy Land, and the dresses of the aforesaid nations to the life, and has fitted his pictures to the words of the text. He, therefore, who chooses, may read this book, and will find therein much which I have passed over. I will now proceed further with my own wanderings.

VISIT TO THE HOLY PLACES IN THE CITY OF JERUSALEM AND ROUND ABOUT THE SAME.

On the fifteenth day, which is the feast of the Separation of the Apostles, beginning the day, that is, on the preceding eve, word was sent to all the pilgrims, that at sunset they must climb to the top of Mount Sion, because our masters, the guides, wished to take us that same evening to Bethlehem. When we were all come to the open space on Mount Sion we found our asses standing there with their drivers : so each of us ran about shouting and seeking for his own driver, as I have described on page 84*b*.

Having got our asses, we stood there and waited for a long time for our guides, who at last, just as the sun was setting, came sorrowfully, and told us that Midianites, Arabs and Bedouins had come up to Bethlehem from Sodom and the wildernesses about Jordan, and were lying in wait for us there, that they might fall upon us with arms in their hands and rob us : wherefore this time we must needs stay in Jerusalem, until these thievish folk should depart from Bethlehem. So the beasts were taken away to their own place, and we made the round of the holy places of Mount Sion, and prayed long at the place of the

Separation of the Apostles, whose feast-day was nigh at hand. About this place see page 104 *a*.

When the sun had set, the pilgrims went down to their hospital to rest, but many of them remained with us on Mount Sion, and kept vigils in the holy places. At midnight we rose together with the brethren for the morning service of lands, after which we began to say private Masses, each in whatever place he chose, until it grew light. When the fifteenth day of July began to dawn, before sunrise, we who were on Mount Sion went down to the hospital and roused up our brethren the pilgrim lords for a pilgrimage. When they were ready we came out of the hospital, with some of the brethren of Mount Sion, and Calinus Elaphallo, the Saracen, with his stick, who afforded us safe-conduct, [*b*] and kept the boys from throwing stones at us. First of all we went to the courtyard of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and there prostrating ourselves at the place where Christ fell beneath the cross, as described above, we received plenary indulgences (††).

THE GATE, OUTSIDE WHICH THE LORD JESUS WAS LED
TO BE CRUCIFIED.

After this we came out of the courtyard into a street which leads from Mount Sion to Mount Calvary, and from thence leads down into the city through all its length. The greatest length of the city is from north to south, and its least width from east to west. When we had gone down some way into the town down that street, up which the Lord Jesus ascended to Mount Calvary, carrying His cross, we came to an ancient gate, broken on the right-hand side, whereof no more remained than one side, reaching from the ground to the curve which supported the arch, all the rest being gone. Even that part which remains is now built into some houses, so that we could not come at it, but stood over against it and looked at it.

It has been a lofty, great, and well built gate, as we could see excellently well from its ruins, and was built of squared hewn stone. This gate, before the enlargement of the city by *Ælius Hadrianus*, was called the Old Gate, because it stood there in the time of the Jebusites. Afterwards it was called the Gate of Judgment, because judgment was given therein after the manner of the ancients, and those who had been judged and sentenced therein, were sent out of it to be executed. Both of these names, which are one and the same, to wit, the Old Gate and the Gate of Judgment, are mentioned in the third chapter of the Book of Nehemiah.

Out of this gate the Lord was led to be crucified, carrying His cross; wherefore it is said of this gate in the Epistle to the Hebrews, chapter xiii.: ‘Jesus, that He might sanctify the people with His own blood, suffered without the gate.’ Let us human pilgrims then go out to Him without the gate, bearing His reproach. Who, I pray you, could behold this gate save with devout compassion? From hence Abel went forth to the field of Afrem¹ to be slain. Through this came Isaac carrying the wood that he might be sacrificed upon the mountain. Here was seen the cluster of grapes borne upon the staff. At this gate we repeated the prayers appointed in the processional, and knelt and received indulgences (†).

THE BOOTHES ON THE WAY TO MOUNT CALVARY, WHEREIN THOSE WHO WERE GOING TO THEIR DEATH WERE REFRESHED.

We went on from hence and came to the places where, at the time when Christ was brought out of the gate there

¹ Ephron. In the Middle Ages the scene of Abel's death was placed at Hebron. Compare John of Wurzburg, ch. 21. Josephus calls Ephron ‘Ephraim,’ and Willibald calls Hebron ‘Aframia.’ See also Fabri, Part II., page 7 *a*.

stood tents, and when men were brought out to be put to death, there were some kindly men who paid for wine for the condemned ones to drink, and they were given strong wine to drink on this spot, that by drinking it they might become cheerful, because we are told in the sixth (*sic*) chapter of Esdras that 'wine turneth every thought into jollity and mirth, so that a man remembereth neither sorrow nor debt, and it maketh every heart rich' (Esdras I. iii. 20, 21). From this place, too, they carried away wine in cups and pitchers to the place of torture, that the men might be made drunk there also, as has been told above, page 112. So likewise does the Talmud bid men do, for it enjoins that those who are about to die should be made drunk, that the Scripture might be fulfilled, 'Give strong drink unto him that is ready to perish, and wine unto those that be of heavy hearts. Let him drink, and forget his poverty, and remember his misery no more' (Prov. xxxi. 6). Now, when the Lord Jesus came to these tents with His cross, and the two thieves who were to be crucified with Him, they hurried onwards with the Lord Jesus, but halted with the other two, and brought them drink: and for the Lord Jesus they brought wine mingled with myrrh, from the inn which stood at the place of crucifixion, and offered it to Him, but He would not receive it, as we read in Matt. xxvii. We do not read that the other two carried their crosses, but their comrades carried them for them. But our Lord Jesus bore His own cross, because all His friends had left Him, and His acquaintance stood afar off. They were in a greater hurry with the Lord Jesus than with the others, because Pilate had given sentence unwillingly, and had been driven by their importunities to yield to their will, and they were afraid that perhaps he might revoke the unjust sentence which he had given: wherefore they hurried. We stood

round about this place and prayed, being filled with love and compassion.

THE HOUSE OF ST. VERONICA.

As we went down the hill from that place we came to the place of Veronica, who is said to have been the woman that had an issue of blood for twelve years, who was healed by privily touching the hem of the Lord's garments, and whom He called 'Daughter,' and greatly commended for her faith, as we read in the ninth chapter of St. Matthew. Some say that this woman was Martha ; but Eusebius, in the seventh book of his 'Ecclesiastical History,' says that she who was healed by the Lord, and became His follower, was Veronica, who was a matron of especial piety and modesty. She, hearing the noise of the people who were passing her house with those who were to be crucified, ran out of doors in tears, and met the Lord Jesus labouring beneath the burden of the cross. Seeing His face covered with spittle and blood, she drew forth her handkerchief, and wiped the Saviour's face : the image of the face remained imprinted upon her handkerchief, as though it had been painted there, which kerchief the woman kept by her, and drew much solace from it ; and that pictured face became celebrated for many signs and wonders wrought by it, and waxed famous. This woman, together with her kerchief, was brought to Rome at the command of Tiberius Cæsar, by the soldier Volusianus ; for Cæsar was stricken down by a heavy sickness, of which as soon as he had seen that sainted woman, and touched the image, he was healed. After working this cure she continued to dwell at Rome till her death, greatly respected for her holiness and virtue, being one of the founders of the Church of God, together with the Apostles Peter and Paul, and Clement. By her will she left the image itself,

imprinted upon the linen cloth, to Pope Clement and his successors, and is at the present day in the church of St. Peter, where it is visited by Christ's faithful people with the greatest devotion. This sacred napkin has retained the name of the woman to the present day, and is called Veronica.¹ [b] I saw this 'Veronica' at Rome on Ascension Day, 1476.

On this subject many have from time to time written beauteous songs of praise, chief among which, and most familiar in men's mouths, is that which runs thus :

'Hail, holy print of our Redeemer's face
Wherein doth shine the splendour of God's grace
Imprinted on a napkin white as snow,
And given Veronica, His love to show.'

So we viewed this house of St. Veronica in a cheerful spirit, reflecting how, by means of her who dwelt in that house, the whole Church of Rome hath received glory and honour, by obtaining from her that portrait of the Saviour, and how all faithful people throughout the entire world run to Rome to see this precious face, which no Christian can look upon and refrain from tears. We stood before the house and kissed the door, and received indulgences (†). Howbeit, after the departure of the pilgrims from Jerusalem, we who remained behind were admitted into that house by the Saracen who dwells therein.

THE HOUSE OF DODRUX, THE RICH GLUTTON, WHO
WAS CLOTHED IN PURPLE, ETC.

From hence we went on downwards through the city, and came to an ancient yet beautiful house, which is said to have been the house of the rich glutton, whose proper name was Dodrux, though the Lord was loth to pronounce it in the Gospel, just as He told the name of the poor

¹ Cf. note to line 685, Prologue to Chaucer's 'Canterbury Tales,' edited by Rev. R. Morris. Clarendon Press Series, 1881.

man, for the reason given by Gregory in his sermon on that parable. This Dodrux, who was rich and luxurious, denied to the sick beggar Lazarus even the crumbs which fell from his table. We looked upon this house with respect on account of the merits of that poor man, and received indulgences (†). Moreover, all of us pilgrims, both rich and poor, received these examples for the amendment of our lives ; the rich learned self-denial and pity from the rich man of pleasure, and the poor man who died and was buried, while the poor were taught lessons of hope and patience by the poor Lazarus, full of sores, who was carried into Abraham's bosom. We are told about these two men, the rich man and the beggar, in Luke xvi.

THE CROSSING OF THE WAYS, WHERE THEY COMPELLED
SIMON TO BEAR THE CROSS BEHIND JESUS ; WHICH
HE DID.

From thence we went onward, and came to a place where two roads intersect one another, and form a cross, so that he who stands in the midst of it can walk in any direction. Christ, when He was come to this crossing of the ways, was wearied with bearing His cross, and laid it down that He might have a short rest to regain His breath. But the villainous Jews were in a great hurry, for the reason which I have explained under the heading of the 'Booths' ; and while He stood there, one Simon of Cyrene came up, who had been a heathen, and had become a proselyte, and who was in secret a disciple of Christ. This man they impressed and forced him to carry the cross behind Christ, as we read in St. Luke, chapter xxiii. He most unwillingly bore his Master's cross, because he was as yet ignorant of its mystery, and of salvation. We therefore ran up to this place, and both pitied Christ

and rejoiced with Him : we pitied Him because there was none to help Him save this Simon, who unwillingly helped Him to bear the cross ; but we rejoiced with Him, because there was now not merely one solitary countryman come from the nearest village to bear the cross of Jesus, but many barons, nobles, and honourable men were now here present, [138a] from distant cities and castles, all of whom had come hither of their own accord from parts beyond the sea, all most willingly bearing their Lord's cross. In this place we bowed ourselves to the earth, and after having said the appointed prayers we received plenary indulgences (††).

On this spot there once stood a church, which now has been utterly destroyed.

THE PLACE WHERE CHRIST SAID TO THE WEEPING WOMEN, 'YE DAUGHTERS OF JERUSALEM,' ETC.

As we went further along that most hard and toilsome path of the Lord, over which He passed in the passion of the Cross, we came to the spot where the Lord, while bearing His cross, hearing and seeing pitiful outcries of women who were following Him, turned away His eyes and His face from the raging mob to the women who loved Him, and were mourning for Him, saying, 'Ye daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for Me,' etc. In this holy place we flung ourselves down upon the ground, and with sobs and tears kissed the footprints of our Saviour, and received indulgences (†). Here, also, there once stood a church, of which, however, there are now no traces to be seen.

THE PLACE WHERE THE BLESSED VIRGIN FELL ALMOST DEAD WITH HORROR.

As we went further along this holy and sorrowful way, not without plenteous tears from the devout pilgrims, we

came to a place where, on the right-hand side of the road, there is a little hillock whereon the Virgin Mary stood in the deepest grief, all through the morning on which her Son was in the hall of judgment before the judge, that she might see whither He was led away, and might follow Him. But when she beheld her Son walking between the two thieves, bearing His exceeding heavy cross, wearing the crown of thorns upon His head, with His face livid with blood and befouled with spittle, and surrounded with troops of armed men, she fell down in her horror and swooned away. Here we halted with our minds filled with renewed grief, and after saying the appointed prayers we bowed ourselves down to the earth, and kissed the ground at this holy place, when we received plenary indulgences. In this place there once stood a stately church, which was called St. Mary of the Swoon, because she fainted away there. This church the Saracens have destroyed, leaving its walls, which were very strongly built of squared stone, standing, in order that a Saracen might build a house for himself upon them, because it stands in a pleasant and high situation : for from the place of Calvary all the way to the house of the Rich Man is down hill, and from the place where Simon was forced to bear the cross behind Jesus, the ground rises all the way to this spot, where stand the walls of the church with no house raised upon them. The following strange story is told of this place. Though many Saracens have tried to build themselves houses upon those old walls, yet none of them could ever finish his building, but after all his toil and expense what he had set up suddenly fell down, and this happened so often, that no one now attempts to build anything upon this spot, but they let the ruins of the wall stand unused. As a proof of the sanctity of this place, and that some day a church will be built here, it is said that even the stones cannot be taken away from hence.

[b] THE PLACE WHERE OUR LORD WAS SENTENCED TO DEATH, WHICH IS CALLED GABBATHA, OR THE PAVEMENT.

Going on from thence, further along the street, we came to the place where, at the time of Christ's passion, was the Seat of Judgment, which was called in Hebrew Gabbatha, and in Greek Lychostratus, but which is called in Latin, the Hill of grief, because it was a hill of great sorrow to those upon whom sentence was passed. This place is mentioned in the nineteenth chapter of St. John's Gospel. In this place there stands a high arch, built of squared stones, reaching from one side of the street to the other, and covering the street over like a gate. Above the arch is built a wall as long as a man's body. Into this wall are built two square white stones, which are of polished marble, separated one from the other, looking down the street, as though they had been put into the wall for ornament. At the time of Christ's passion this place, Lychostratus, was paved with slabs of marble, and in that pavement there were two white polished square stones raised above the rest, one of them beneath the seat of judgment, so that the judge when sitting on that seat rested his feet upon the stone, while the other was in the middle of the pavement, and upon it was placed the person who was to be tried. Round about these stones were benches for the counsel and judges. So Pilate came out to this place Gabbatha, to pass sentence of death against Jesus, seated on the tribunal, and resting his feet upon the stone, and the Lord Jesus, soon to be borne to His death, stood upon the stone of culprits. These two stones were taken up by the faithful, and built into the wall above this arch for a perpetual remembrance of this deed. So in this place we bent our knees, and after worshipping the Lord, received

indulgences. Here we recalled to our minds the impious accusations brought against Christ by the Jews, and the unjust proclamation, and the terror of the unjust judge, and the silence of Christ, and many other things which came to pass in this holy place.

THE JUDGMENT-HALL AND HOUSE OF PILATE, WHEREIN
THE LORD WAS SCOURGED, CROWNED, AND ABUSED
IN DIVERS WAYS.

When we had finished our prayers in the aforesaid place, we rose up, passed through the aforesaid arch, and came to the house of Pilate, wherein every Christian knows what torment the Lord endured. In it there was the judgment-hall, whither the Lord Jesus was led, tied fast by hard bonds, and, with an iron chain about His neck, was confronted with His judge, accused, examined, sent to Herod, brought back again to this house, questioned, scourged, crowned with thorns, mocked in divers ways, and when covered with scorn shown to the people. Wherefore before the door of that house we bowed ourselves down to the earth with plenteous weeping, and said the prayer appointed in the processional, and received plenary indulgences (††). When we arose we kissed the stones of the walls. We would willingly have entered the house, but they who dwelt therein would not open it, so we stood without even as the Jews stood when they delivered up Christ to the judge. [139a] They did this because they would not enter the house lest they should be defiled and unable to eat the passover, whereas we longed with all our hearts to enter it, that we might be cleansed from our defilements and uncleannesses, and be sanctified; howbeit, at this time we were not let in. After the knights had left Jerusalem, I made my way into it by stratagem, as will be told hereafter—page 231 b. Although that house, together

with all the others, was cast down by Titus, yet some of the walls remained, upon which, when it was rebuilt, a new house was placed, and thus the appearance of the original house was done away. However, the arched doorway, through which the Lord was brought in and out, has remained standing, though now the entrance to the house is not under that arch, but elsewhere, and the old gate, although still standing, is built up. On the capitals and arch-stones of the old gate are carved wheels, and squares, and triangles, as though they were astrological signs ; and I believe that the ancients carved these figures for superstitious reasons. At the time of Christ's passion this house was large, and contained many chambers, but now it is small enough within, although the place of the scourging is covered with a vault, and always was so. At the present day the tenants of the house cast all the refuse and filth of the household into this holy place. In this house formerly stood the seven sweating columns mentioned on page 113 *a.* It used to be entered by an ascent of twenty-eight marble steps. As the Lord was being dragged in a prisoner with fury and violence, He fell on the eleventh step upon His holy face, with such force that blood flowed from His nose and face, and ran on to the stair. These steps, according to tradition, have been translated from Jerusalem to Rome, and have been placed in the church of St. John Lateran, leading up to the Holy of Holies, and whensoever anyone climbs them he receives plenary indulgences. The greatest reverence of all is shown to those stairs, up which pilgrims may not go save on their bare knees ; and when they come to the eleventh step, they prostrate themselves and pray there for a longer time and with greater fervour than on the others, and kiss the place where the marks of bloodshed are to be seen : which place is guarded by iron bars. It is not only

unlettered and simple people who do this, but great Cardinals and exceeding learned men climb these stairs in the aforesaid fashion to obtain indulgences : and they say that they once stood in the house of Pilate.

THE HOUSE OF KING HEROD, WHEREIN CHRIST WAS
SCOFFED AT AND MOCKED.

Leaving the aforesaid house, and going further along the street, we came to another street leading upwards from it. Here we left the street down which we had come from Mount Calvary, mounted up this street, and came to a great house, which was the house of King Herod, to which the Lord Jesus was brought from Pilate up this ascent. Herein He was scoffed at by Herod's army, mocked with a white garment, and tormented in divers ways, as we are told by the Evangelists. It is said that the white garment of Christ, with which He was mocked in the house of Herod, was in the shape of the scapular worn by the Dominicans and Carthusians. We bowed ourselves to the earth and prayed before this house, [b] and after (†) having received indulgences we arose. During my first pilgrimage I was unable to obtain entrance to this house, because there was there a school of Saracen boys therein, in which boys were taught. In my second pilgrimage we were suddenly driven away from the house, because the Governor of the city kept his concubines in it, for which reason, even after the departure of the pilgrims, we could not gain admittance to it.

THE HOUSE OF SIMON THE PHARISEE, WHEREIN THE
WOMAN THAT WAS A SINNER REPENTED.

We hurriedly left the house of Herod, that we might not offend the Governor, and went down again to our former street, wherein we stopped before the door of a house.

In this house it is said that the Pharisee dwelt who desired that Jesus should eat with him, and when He was there a woman of the city, which was a sinner, came and did Him wondrous service out of penitence and devotion, as we read in Luke vii., so that, as Gregory says, the tears of that sinful woman would soften even a stony heart into penitence. She made all her beauties into as many sacrifices, and turned her many vices into many virtues, that if any part of her had dishonoured God in sin, all of her might serve God in penitence. We prostrated ourselves before the door of this house, and received indulgences (†).

There seems to be a discrepancy among the Evangelists with regard to this house. Luke, in his account of the matter, appears to imply that it took place in Jerusalem. But in Mark xiv., John xii., and Matthew xxvi., it is said to have taken place at Bethany, in the house of Simon the leper. Hence some learned doctors, for example Jerome ('Contra Jovinianum,' chapter xlvi.), say that the Evangelist Luke speaks of some other woman, not of Mary Magdalen, who is mentioned by the other three, and who did her service in Bethany, whereas it was another woman who did so in this house. The places shown as holy places agree with this, because we are here shown the house of Simon the Pharisee, and in Bethany we are shown the house of Simon the leper. Unless—which I myself am more inclined to believe to be true—one prefers rather to say that Mary Magdalen came to this house at the outset of her conversion, and washed the Lord's feet with her tears, that it was afterwards, near the time of His passion, that she poured the ointment upon His head as He sat at meat, and that she who did this was one and the same woman.

THE SCHOOL OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN, WHEREIN SHE
LEARNED HER LETTERS; WITH A DISCUSSION OF
THE QUESTION AS TO WHETHER SHE LEARNED
LETTERS OR NO.

Rising up from our prayer at the aforesaid house, we hurried forward on our way, and came to another large house, built of squared, hewn and carved stone, which house adjoins the courtyard of the temple of the Lord. This house is said to have been the school of the blessed Virgin, wherein she learned her letters when she was presented by her parents to the servants of the temple that she might be bound over to the service of God. We viewed this house with admiration, and a doubt arose in our minds as to whether the blessed Virgin Mary learned her letters from any man, and what Jew could have been her schoolmaster, since we read in the seventh chapter of the Book of Wisdom: ‘The Creator of all things hath taught me wisdom.’ [140 a] For the Lord of all things loved her, therefore she herself is ‘a teacher of His ways’ (Wisdom viii.).

From this it would appear that she was not taught by man. Moreover, Damm tells us that the blessed Virgin was not outdone in learning by any of the great ones of the Church. Indeed, there have been some holy men who have not been taught by man, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ, as St. Paul tells us that he was taught in the first chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians. Solomon, too, learned wisdom, not from man, but by Divine inspiration. All the other Apostles also became the teachers of the world by divinely inspired learning. Moreover, St. Thomas Aquinas says that he learned more by prayer than by reading. So, too, St. Catherine of Siena was taught by the Lord Jesus, and could read books and the

Scriptures, yet she knew not the name or powers of any one letter, and could not tell ‘a’ from ‘b,’ or ‘b’ from ‘c,’ which proves her teaching to have been miraculous. St. Mary of Egypt likewise, when in the desert, learned the Scriptures by Divine revelation. “Wherefore, then, beloved brother-wanderer, dost thou show me the school wherein thou sayest that the blessed Virgin Mary learned her letters? If she was not surpassed in learning by any of the greatest theologians, how could she have been taught by man? Seeing that others have gained knowledge of the Scriptures by inspiration, what Jew would have been the teacher of her who from the beginning of her ways possessed eternal wisdom?” “Pause, my beloved brother, and do not by any means scorn this house, but believe it to have been the school of the blessed Virgin. Though she was worthy to be a teacher of men, yet for humility’s sake she deigned to become a scholar, even as she underwent purification according to the law, not of necessity, but out of humility. Thus likewise the Lord Jesus, with His eternal wisdom, sat among the doctors, hearing them and asking them questions; albeit, neither by listening to them, nor by questioning them, could he add to His knowledge.” So we went up to the wall of that house, and kissed it, and received indulgences (†), and said the appointed prayers.

THE TEMPLE OF THE LORD, WHICH IS CALLED THE
TEMPLE OF SOLOMON.

Going a little further on from thence, we came to a place where, on the right-hand, was a vaulted passage. This passage was whitewashed, and in it hung lighted lamps. We stood outside this passage, and looked through it into the temple courtyard, and saw, too, the temple itself, which is called Solomon’s temple. So we bent our knees

and worshipped the true Lord of that temple, and received there (††) plenary indulgences.

Although at the present day this temple is used as a mosque, and the accursed Mahomet is worshipped there, yet once it was an exceeding holy church, as it will some day be again, and has been hallowed by many miracles wrought therein by our Saviour. For this reason the indulgences hold good in spite of Mahomet, because the church stands in a most sacred place, and was built and consecrated to Christ long ago. About this temple, and its description, and who built it, and its model, I shall tell you on page 257 *a* and the following pages. As for the Saracen mosques, which the Canons calls ‘mesquitas,’ see the ‘Speculum Historiale,’ Book XXIV., chapter lxxxii.; and also Part II., page 104, of this work.

THE BIRTHPLACE OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY ABOVE THE SHEEP-POOL.

[b] We were soon driven away from our view of the temple, for the Saracens cannot endure with patience that we should look upon this temple, or that we should even come nigh it on any pretence. We therefore went away from it, and, going along the street, entered another street to the left, where we came to a great church, connected with which is a goodly monastery, with all the offices connected by a cloister. Here once dwelt nuns of the Order of St. Benedict, who were wealthy and pious. Beneath this church is the birthplace of the blessed Virgin Mary, because here stood the house of Joachim and Anna. The Saracens have made this church into a mosque, and therefore they will not allow us to enter it. So we stood before the door of the church and said the appointed prayers, and received plenary indulgences (††). However, after the pilgrims had gone home, we who remained behind

in Jerusalem did manage to get into this church, but in secret, and with great difficulty, as will be found described on page 230*b*, where, also, there is a description of the place and convent.

It should be noted that the Saracens make special efforts to blot out this church even from the memories of Christians, because therein is a proof of the untruthfulness of the Alkoran; for the Alkoran says that the blessed Virgin Mary was the daughter of Miriam, the sister of Aaron and Moses, which is an utterly false imagination, as may be seen in the text of the Alkoran, Book I., chapter i., and Book III., chapter xvii.

THE SHEEP-POOL OF BETHSAIDA, [*sic*] WHERE THE
PALSIED MAN WAS HEALED.

We were led along a narrow lane close beside that church, and knocked at the door of a house in which dwelt some poor Saracens, who opened the door, but would not let us come in unless we first gave them some pence. After this had been done, we went in, and descended some stone stairs into a small court or open space, which once was enclosed by walls, and still is so in part. Round about it there are arched doors. On this spot, in the days of Christ, was the sheep-pool, called in Hebrew Bethsaida, where the Lord Jesus healed the man who was sick of the palsy, as is told in John v. This pool contained the water which in rainy weather ran off the roof of the temple, and in it the sheep and other beasts which were offered in sacrifice in the temple were washed. Moreover, Solomon caused the wood which the Sibyl showed him, and whereon she prophesied that Christ should suffer, to be plunged into the depths of this cistern. There it lay hid up to the time of Christ's passion, when it rose to the surface of the water, and was taken out and made.

into Christ's cross. It is supposed that it was on account of the reverence due to this wood that an angel came down from heaven and troubled the water, after which troubling the first man who entered it was healed. There the Lord healed one who had awaited the troubling of the water for thirty-eight years, as we are told in John v.

At the present day this cistern contains no water, but in the midst of it a kind of tank has been made to catch the rain-water. So here we said the prayers appointed in the processional, received indulgences (†), kissed the ground, and went up the stairs again, and back again into our former street. [141 a] Entering another street on the opposite side of it, we came to a large cistern, full of water, which was there in ancient times, and which is called in Scripture 'the inner pool,' which was made by Hezekiah, King of Judah, and into it besides rain-water he brought the water of the upper water-course of Gihon, hewing a conduit through the rock with iron, as we read in Ecclesiasticus xlvi. 17, and 2 Kings xx. 20.¹ Indeed, from old times even until now, cisterns have been made in Jerusalem with great care to hold the water which runs into them from the roofs in wintry and rainy weather, that the city may have water in summer-time: for the holy city hath no water of its own, and drinks only rain-water, or water brought from a distance. I fancy that at the present day more pains are taken than ever before to supply the holy city with water, because the Saracens make use of daily washings and dipping of themselves in water, more than is the custom of the Jews: wherefore they have many washing-places, and bring water into Jerusalem with wondrous skill. This will be shown on page 249 a.

¹ 2 Chron. xxxii. 30.

HERE FOLLOWETH THE PILGRIMAGE THROUGH THE
VALLEY OF JEHOSHAPHAT.

After we had seen that cistern we went on our way, and came to the end of the city on the north side at the gate which once was called the Gate of Ephraim, because the way to Mount Ephraim leads through it; but now it is called the Gate of St. Stephen, because he was led out of it and stoned in the valley beyond it. Through this gate leads the road to Sichem, Samaria, and the province of Galilee. So we went out of this gate, and as soon as we were outside, we left the northern roads along which the gate looks, and turned aside to the eastward towards Mount Olivet, having the holy city on our right hands as we walked. When we came to the corner of the wall where the northern wall joins the eastern one, we turned our faces away from the east, and looked along the wall towards the south, where we saw another great city gate on the east side, whose lofty tower has been thrown down and ruined. This gate is termed the Golden Gate, and through it the Lord Jesus entered the city on Palm Sunday, sitting upon an ass, while beneath it Joachim and Anna met together in obedience to a former command, because they had been told by a divine oracle that of them the Virgin Mary should be born. Moreover, it was here also that the following glorious miracle took place: When the Emperor Heraclius, having conquered his enemies, and regained the cross which had been taken by the Persians, wanted to ride on horseback through this gate in imperial state, he no sooner came up to the gate than the stones joined themselves together, and became a closed solid wall: nor could he enter until he had laid aside all worldly pomp, when at last, barefooted and humbled, he

was permitted to enter with all his army, bearing the Lord's cross.

Up to this gate the Lord was led in triumph, from the Mount (of Olives) to the temple, with palms and green boughs, as also we read in the thirteenth chapter of the First Book of Maccabees that Simon entered it ; and in the Second Book of Maccabees, and the tenth chapter, we read of the green boughs and palms. The Saracens will not allow us to come near this [b] gate, and we could by no means obtain leave to go thither, because without it is the Saracen burying-ground, over which they will not suffer Christians to walk. However, we knelt looking towards it from afar off, and after worshipping God received plenary indulgences (††). These indulgences are given to everyone who stands opposite this gate afar off, and worships it, as many times as he does it. It is believed that the ruinous walls which now stand there are indeed the ruins of the true Golden Gate, through which the Lord entered, sitting on an ass ; because Titus, when he destroyed Jerusalem, left some towers standing for fortresses and watch-towers, whereof the tower of the Golden Gate was one, and was left standing together with its wood-work. This wood-work is at the present day covered with plates of gilded copper. The Saracens cut off pieces and scraps of these plates and nails, and sell them to the Christians, because many Christians take great pains to get a piece of that gate, and often risk their lives by going thither at night and tearing little pieces off it. Some lavish their money instead, and bribe some Saracen to pluck morsels off the gate, and to give them copper or wood in return for gold or silver. The reason why relics from this gate are so dear is because it is said (whether it be a vain superstition or not, I cannot tell) that whosoever carries about a morsel of that gate with him will be proof against

apoplexy, falling sickness, and plague. In days of old, when the Christians possessed Jerusalem, a great feast was celebrated at this gate on Palm Sunday. On the previous Saturday, or vigil of Palm Sunday, all the clergy went forth to Bethany, and kept the vigil all night in the church of St. Lazarus. In the early dawn they went forth in procession from Bethany to Bethphage, where they set one of the great bishops, dressed in his priestly vestments, upon an ass, and went in procession towards the holy city. As they came down from the Mount of Olives, the rest of the clergy and religious orders, with all the populace of the city, came in procession to meet them, carrying boughs of palm, and after the fashion spoken of in the Gospel, they cut boughs from the olive-trees and strewed them in the way, and spread out their garments in the way, crying, ‘Hosanna!’ etc. When they came up from the valley towards the gate, the gate used to be shut, and young men stood upon the tower thereof, singing *Gloria, laus*, etc. When they had done singing this hymn they brought the bishop into the temple with great rejoicings. After the loss of the holy city, and the driving out of the Latins from thence, the Armenians continued to celebrate this festival with their bishop for many years, until at the instigation of the devil they (the Saracens) began to bury their damned dead here, after which they blocked up the gate. Nowadays, therefore, they hurry through Palm Sunday in the following manner: On that day itself, after divine service and the eating of food, the brethren of Mount Sion go out to Bethany, thence walk in singing procession up to Bethphage, [142 a] where they set one of the brethren in his priestly vestments upon an ass, and accompany him towards the city singing praises. As they descend the Mount of Olives the other Eastern Christians run to meet them with boughs of palm and

olive, and with strewing of garments in the way, and lead him as far as the brook Cedron, where the procession ends, for they dare not mount up towards the city singing praises in this fashion, lest the Saracens should break up their procession by pelting it with stones. It is wonder enough that they suffer them to do thus much, for a hundred or even fifty years ago they would not have permitted it, and as little as twenty years ago the Christians had not as much liberty as they now have. May God make it still greater, for His own praise's sake, that the mouths of those who sing of Him in these most holy places may not be for ever shut.

THE PLACE WHERE SAUL KEPT THE CLOTHES OF
THOSE WHO STONED ST. STEPHEN.

Passing quickly by the Golden Gate, we came down a steep, rough and stony path to a place where stands a stone, the top whereof is flat. Upon this stone those butchers, who were about to stone the holy protomartyr Stephen, laid down their clothes that they might more readily throw stones and slay the saint with harder blows. Saul, being a young man, witnessed this sight, and being filled with a burning zeal for Judaism, kept watch over all their clothes, in order that they might throw stones freely, and thus he might be of more use to them than anyone else. So Saul sat upon the clothes upon this stone, raging against Stephen and blaspheming Christ. We therefore kissed this place and received indulgences (†).

THE PLACE WHERE ST. STEPHEN WAS STONED.

From thence we went down a little lower, towards the brook Cedron, and came to the place where Stephen was stoned, where he prayed on his knees for his stoners, and received their stones with joy: wherefore the hymn says of

him: *Lapides torrentis illi dulces fuerunt.* We are told by St. Augustine how great was the value of St. Stephen's prayer; 'had Stephen not prayed, the Church would have lost Paul.' So in this place we kissed the very stones, and received indulgences (†); indeed, the place is full of very clear pebbles from the brook. Here once stood a venerable church, whose ruins can scarcely be traced at this day, though on the left-hand some walls still remain. This place is exceeding sacred, forasmuch as in this place Stephen was the first to repay to the Saviour the death which the Saviour deigned to undergo for all men.

THE VALLEY OF JEHOSIAPHAT AND THE BROOK CEDRON.

Proceeding onwards from hence, we went down into the valley of Jehoshaphat as far as the brook Cedron. This valley has another name, Cela, according to Jerome, and the brook Cedron is called Chrinarus. It is called the valley of Jehoshaphat because the King Jehoshaphat caused a stately sepulchre [b] to be hewn out there for himself, which I shall describe on page 176. The bottom part of this valley is called the brook Cedron, which brook in summer-time is dried up and parched, but in winter runs with water from the melting snow. It is said that once upon a time cedars were planted along the banks of that brook, and that after them it was named Cedron, that is, 'of the cedars.' This valley and brook come from the northward and stretch along towards the south. They part the mount of the city and temple, and the hills of Sion and Gihon, from the Mount of Olives and the Mount of Offence. They are continued by the valley of Siloam and the valley of Hermon, which bends towards the east, and reaches as far as Sodom. Wherefore the brook Cedron, whenever it contains any water, sends its waters down into the Dead Sea, by a long winding course through

this crooked valley. Some declare that the brook Cedron once had waters always flowing in it, and that at the present day it has an underground channel, because the bottom of the valley has been choked up with ruins by the many destructions of the holy city, underneath which ruins they say that the brook continually flows. This I do not believe to be true, because I have gone along that valley all the way down to Sodom, a long way from Jerusalem, through exceeding deep torrent-beds, where no ruins have ever been cast down, and yet I could not see a single drop of this ever-flowing water, but only a dry torrent-bed, through which water runs regularly in its season. Nor can anyone doubt that if this channel had in old times had water always running in it from a fountain, Holy Scripture would not have been silent about it; or if there were still a perpetual run of water beneath the earth, the people of Jerusalem would call in the aid of all the Easterns, and would dig down to its banks, seeing that living waters are precious in Jerusalem, and the people stand in need of them, and long ago some device would have been contrived whereby these waters might have been carried straight up into the city, even as the waters of the fountain of Siloam, which are said by Nicholas de Lyra to have once flowed up into the city above them; which appears to me to be very strange, because that fountain lies deep down at the foot of Mount Sion.

These aforesaid valleys, this torrent-bed and fountain of Siloam, and the mountains spoken of a little while ago, will often be mentioned hereafter: wherefore I have thought fit to make this short preface, for the better understanding of what follows. Now, when we had come to the bottom of the valley, we crossed over the brook by the stone bridge, which is built upon arches, and came to the foot of the Mount of Olives. When we had gone up it a

little way from the brook, we came to the Dragon Well, of which we read in the second chapter of Nehemiah. At this place I discoursed to my lords the knights about the zeal of Nehemiah: how he came to Jerusalem out of captivity from a far country, and rode round about the city by night to view its ruins, and stood beside that well considering how with the leave of Artaxerxes, the king, he might rebuild the walls of Jerusalem which had been thrown down, and the ruined towers, the levelled gates, the desolate houses and the burnt temple. This work of his is a reproach to our princes, who take no heed about the recovery [143 a] of the holy city, as though we had no need of it. I do not remember anywhere to have read why this well is called the Dragon Well; but I suppose that it was because it once had water running from some spring, from which the waters were brought into this cistern through dragons or snake-like curved pipes. So also the district of Drachonitis (Trachonitis) is so called because it has no waters save such as are brought through dragons—that is, snaky underground passages.

THE CHURCH OF THE MOST BLESSED MARY THE VIRGIN,
IN THE VALLEY OF JEHOSHAPHAT.

Thence we went upon our way, but turned down to our left hand to the church of the sepulchre of the most blessed Virgin, which is hewn out of the stony rocks, deep in the bowels of the earth. Some say that when it was begun to be built it was not beneath the earth, but above it, and that it has been covered over by the earth brought down by the rain-water from the Mount of Olives, and by the filling up of the valley. Above the entrance there is a building made in the likeness of a chapel, and before the door there is a courtyard paved with square slabs of marble. We went down into this cave, and hurried towards the

entrance to the church, but when we came to the church door we found it locked, and no guardian of the church there. However, some Saracens who were sitting at the door told us that he would be there presently. Indeed, the door-keeper of this church is a Saracen, who has inherited this office from his father, whom what follows befell. This Saracen—I mean the father of him who is now door-keeper—as a reward for some service, received from the Soldan the gift of this church, that he might make money from the pilgrims who visited it. So when he became possessed of the church, and saw that the Christians were exceeding zealous to visit it, he raised the sum which those who entered it were wont to pay, so much, that he wanted each person who came in to pay no less than three ducats. In consequence of this burden the pilgrims gave up visiting this church, no one entered it any more, and the place became almost forgotten. But on one night the blessed Virgin Mary appeared in a dream to that greedy Saracen, and most bitterly upbraided him, saying: ‘Oh enemy of God, lost both in mind and body, perverter of the law, that takest away the honour due to me, how hast thou waxed so rash as to presume to shut my doors against my servants the pilgrims? Arise, therefore, swiftly, and throw open the doors of my sepulchre to all pilgrims without money and without price, otherwise thy body shall be filled full of worms, and thy house shall soon be made desolate.’ Saying thus she disappeared. The Saracen, full of fear, awoke, arose trembling, revealed all to his family, the words which he had heard, and forbade them thenceforth to deny entrance to the church to any Christian, but bade them open it to all free of charge, and this he enjoined upon his posterity after him. [b] So it has been done even to this day. Now as we stood at the church door there came to us a Saracen, a

man well stricken in years, the son of the aforesaid man to whom the blessed Virgin appeared. He unlocked the door, and let us go in, saying to each man in his own tongue : ‘ Go, worship God, and praise the Virgin Mary.’ When we entered the door we went down fifty-two marble steps into a deep cave, and while we were going down them the precentor began in a loud voice to sing the hymn ‘ *O gloriosa domina*,’ etc.

We followed him, singing with great joy, and came to the sepulchre of the most blessed Virgin, in the midst of the church. We entered it one after the other, kissed the holy tomb with the greatest devotion, and with thanksgiving received a plenary (††) indulgence. After the hymn ‘ *O gloriosa domina*,’ etc., we sang ‘ *Salve regina*,’ and other hymns. We were very merry in this holy place, and sang cheerfully. I have never heard so sweet and musical an echo as here, and in the cave of the Invention of the Cross, as I have already noted. I have at times been in this church alone for one or two hours, and have prayed or sung as I pleased, for the voice of one who sings there cannot be heard above. I have often noticed, as indeed I have often been in that church, that pilgrims are always merrier and more joyous there than in the other holy places: and rightly are they so, for from this place the glorious Virgin ascended into heaven, where unspeakably exalted she reigneth with Christ world without end. ‘ On this spot,’ says Jerome, ‘ the queen of the world was snatched away from this wicked life, wherefore rejoice, because being certain of her own imperishable glory she went from hence to the palace of heaven, and translated her glory thither from this present world to the end that she might with confidence intercede for our sins. No one can doubt that at the moment of the Assumption of the most blessed Virgin all the heavenly Jerusalem rejoiced with

ineffable joy, and made merry with all thanksgiving. It is believed that the Saviour Himself came swiftly hither with all the armed host of the kingdom of heaven, restored her to life by reuniting her body and soul, and with joy placed her beside Him on His throne.' Nor ought we to think that it was by chance that the most blessed Virgin Mary chose her place of sepulture in the valley of Jehoshaphat, but to the intent that the sinner who fears to stand in this valley on the dreadful day of Judgment which is to come, may now take up his place beforehand in that valley, and pray to the Mother, show forth his obedience to her, and thus cease to fear being called into this valley a second time if he shall obtain the favour of the Mother who will be his judge. The blessed Virgin left behind her for our consolation her veil and clothing, which at the instance of the empress Helena have been translated to Constantinople by Juvenalis the Patriarch of Jerusalem.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CHURCH AND SEPULCHRE OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN IN THE VALLEY OF JEHOOSIAPHAT.

The church of the blessed Virgin in the valley of Jehoshaphat is called the church of the Assumption, and beside it was once a monastery of monks of the order of St. Bene't, and a mitred Abbot; but now not even the ruins of this monastery can be seen, but there are gardens of olives and fig-trees round about the church. The church itself, as I have said, is now underground, although in former times it was not so, as is clear when one looks at the walls, [144 a] wherein the windows still remain, though without light, because the floods of rain-water bringing down earth from the mountains have covered it up, and it receives no light, save that at its east end there is an opening made up to the sky, and through this hole light enters it, and

lights only one corner of the church. This opening is surrounded in its upper part with an enclosing wall just as though it were a cistern. This church, according to Jerome in his sermon on the Assumption, is wondrously built of marble slabs, but on that side which lies to the northward of the sepulchre it is not cased with marble, but there is to be seen the bare rock from which the sepulchre was hewn out. The church is lofty and vaulted, and contains many altars. The Virgin's sepulchre stands in the midst of it, and is a small chamber, like the Lord's sepulchre, splendidly ornamented and lighted with lamps, more even than the Lord's sepulchre itself. It has two entrances; one leads from the west opposite the holy tomb, which stands on the eastern side of it, having the head towards the south, and the feet towards the north. There is another door on the north side, and one goes in through the one, and out through the other, which is not done in the Lord's sepulchre. Masses also are said in the sepulchre itself, like as they are in the Lord's sepulchre. I myself have celebrated many Masses therein, and all Christians, of whatever sect they may be, are allowed to celebrate Mass there, and that place is not appropriated by any sect; but the other altars throughout the church belong to various sects, for the altar which is nearest to the sepulchre belongs to the Armenians; a second, beneath a dark vault, belongs to the Georgians. A third, under a window in the east end of the choir, belongs to the Greeks; a fourth, in the corner on the north side, belongs to the Latins, and a fifth, near the first step of the staircase, belongs to the Indians. There is a costly tomb of polished white marble, wherein is buried the venerable Queen Milicent, who built this church. On either side of the stairs there are decorated tombs, and some declare that in one of them Anna, the mother of the blessed Virgin, in the other Joachim, her

father, are buried. In the church itself there is a deep cistern, containing cold and clear water, and those who say that the brook Cedron has its course underground, say also that this water comes from this underground brook; in proof of which, when a man is alone in that church, and holds his ear above the mouth of the cistern, he seems to hear the sound of water trickling below the earth. Others say this fount holds water which runs from Paradise in honour of the blessed Virgin, and for our comfort. At any rate it cannot be rain-water, because that cistern is too deep down in the bowels of the earth. So much for it. See, if you wish it, a further account of these matters under the head of the Assumption Day.

THE PLACE WHERE ST. THOMAS THE APOSTLE RECEIVED THE BLESSED VIRGIN'S GIRDLE.

When we had finished our thanksgiving in that holy church, we went up the stairs again, and of our own accord gave some pence to the Saracen door-keeper of the church, to encourage him [*b*] to let Christian pilgrims enter it, and leaving the churchyard, turned our faces towards Mount Olivet, going up its side. When we had climbed up a little way, we came to the place where St. Thomas is said to have stood at the hour of the Assumption of the blessed Virgin. Hearing the harmony of the heavenly host he looked up, and beheld the mother of the Lord ascending into heaven, as well with her body as with her soul. She flung her girdle to him, to strengthen his faith, which he received with unspeakable joy, and showed to his fellow Apostles, convincing them of the truth of her Assumption in the body as well as the soul. As by touching the wounds of Christ in glory he hath confirmed our faith in His resurrection, even so by this deed he hath confirmed our piety towards the Assumption of Mary. So in this

place we read the appointed prayers, kissed the earth, and received indulgences (†).

THE PLACE OF CHRIST'S PRAYER AND OF HIS AGONY
ON THE MOUNT OF OLIVES, AND HOW THE PIL-
GRIMS PRAYED THERE.

Going on a little way further from thence, among the dry stone walls of gardens on the side of the holy mount, we came to the mouth of a cavern in the rocks, entering which we found a fair and roomy grotto, not made by art, or hewn out of the rock by men's hands, but formed and arranged by the Creator from the beginning, that it might be a place meet for prayers, meditation, and reflection, and fitting for one who desires solitude. The Lord Jesus often left the city by night and entered this cave, wherein He passed the night in most holy vigils and prayers. It was to this cave that Nicodemus came by night to visit the Lord Jesus, and held that discourse with Him upon the deepest questions of theology, which has been preserved by John the Evangelist in his third chapter. This is the place which Judas knew, because the Lord often went forth thither with His disciples, as we are told in John xviii. So in the night following the Last Supper Jesus came forth from the city across the brook Cedron, where was a garden, and in it a cavern, into which He entered, and kneeling upon the ground, bowed Himself down in prayer, prostrating Himself, and saying in a tearful voice: 'Abba, Father, all things are possible unto Thee ; take away this cup from Me : nevertheless, not as I will, but as Thou wilt.' After having offered this prayer three times, being in an agony, He prayed more earnestly, and sweated blood through sorrow, grief, and dread, and there appeared an angel unto Him from heaven, comforting Him. Oh my lords and brother pilgrims, what shall we do here? How

shall we show ourselves to our Redeemer in this holy and dreadful place? With what gestures, what movements, what postures shall we pray? Surely with no other than those wherewith He who hath hallowed this place showed Himself to His Heavenly Father. It is clear to one who reads the Gospels with care, that in His three prayers Christ made use of three different postures. First He fell upon His face, [145 a] prostrating His whole body, according to Matthew. The second time He fell upon the earth, leaning upon His elbows, according to Mark. The third time He prayed more at length, resting upon His knees, according to Luke. Fourthly, He rose to His feet, repeating that sweetest of prayers, when raising His eyes to heaven He said, ‘Father, the hour is come; glorify Thy Son,’ John xvii., which some say was done in the garden at the end of His prayers in the presence of all the disciples. Wherefore using these gestures the pilgrims prayed for a longer while in this most holy place, and wept more freely than was their wont; for this place is wondrously apt to stir the tears of those who pray, because there seems to inhale from it a strange sweetness which, when smelt, softens a man’s whole being, and renders his heart gentle. Nor need we wonder at this, for we know for a truth that therein was shed the sweet-smelling balm of His most precious bloody sweat, by which the dead shall be raised to life; for Albertus tells us that that blood poured through His clothing and fell to the ground, to the end that it might run into the ashes of the dead and bestow upon them the power of resurrection. After we had said the appointed prayers we kissed the place wherein the Lord Jesus knelt, and we also viewed with respect and kissed a rock which juts out into the cave, upon which it is believed that the angel stood who comforted the Lord, and we received (††) plenary indulgences.

This grotto is round in the inside, and of a good size. In it, on the left-hand side, there are other caves of considerable depth, wherein the disciples often slept while Christ prayed, not on the last night only. They were in the cave with Him, but He was withdrawn from them about a stone's cast. At the head of the grotto there juts out from the wall an exceeding hard rock, whereon stood the angel who appeared to Christ. Beneath this rock there is an altar, whereon Mass is sometimes said. In old times the walls of this grotto were painted, as may be made out at the present day by diligent examination. Once there might be seen on the floor the traces of the knees of the Lord Jesus, miraculously imprinted on the hard rock ; but these can no longer be seen because of the destruction caused by pilgrims, who break off pieces from the holy places. From the floor to the overhanging rock measures a fathom and a half. This grotto is sufficiently lighted through the doorway by which one enters it, and by a large rift on the left-hand side in the rock which covers it.

THE PLACE WHERE THE LORD BEGAN TO BE SORROWFUL AND HEAVY, AND SAID, 'MY SOUL IS EXCEEDING SORROWFUL,' AND WHERE THE THREE DISCIPLES FELL ASLEEP.

Pilgrims are led through the localities of Christ's passion in such an order that they may meet their Lord, and go to meet Him as He comes towards them. If the guides led us along the paths of Christ in the same order in which the Lord Himself was led over them, it would be easy to describe them, and to give an intelligible description of these holy places. But as the procession goes in the contrary direction, it is difficult to describe them. Let us then go forward to meet our Saviour. We came out of

the aforesaid grotto, and departed from it about a stone's cast [b] along the side of the Mount of Olives ; for by this space Christ was separated from His disciples when He went to the aforesaid place, as we are told in Luke xxii. In this place the Lord Jesus stood with His three disciples, and began to be sorrowful, fearful, heavy, and ill at ease, and said, 'My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death : watch with Me whilst I go and pray.' He then went forward a little way into the grotto ; but the three disciples went to sleep. In this place we bowed ourselves to the earth, and kissed the most holy footsteps of the Lord Jesus. We also, out of devotion, sat down in the place where the disciples slept ; for in that place there are some rocks raised a little above the ground, against which a man sitting on the ground can lean his back and arm, and rest himself. So here we said the appointed prayers, and received plenary indulgences (††), and were taught by wholesome examples. For indeed prayers avail but little, and indulgences have small value, nay, the whole labour of pilgrimage is in vain, if a man in these most holy places doth not meditate upon the examples with which he meets, and take them to heart for the amendment of his own life.

This great sorrow of Christ teaches us to abjure the gaiety of the world, for in the words of Gregory (the great) the world's gaiety is only unpunished wickedness, and all those who rejoice with the world in the unpunished wickedness of the world prove themselves to be partakers therein. The sleeping of the disciples is a proof of the weakness and wretchedness of our nature. We make large promises, but we grow lukewarm when the time has come for us to redeem them.

THE PLACE WHERE THE LORD WENT TO MEET THOSE
WHO WISHED TO TAKE HIM, AND WAS TAKEN
PRISONER.

We went further on, and came to the garden in which the Lord Jesus came to meet those who wished to take Him, bowed thrice, at last voluntarily delivered Himself up into their hands, and suffered Judas to kiss Him. This place is surrounded by a dry stone wall, and is of peculiar sanctity. It stands on the slope of the mount: not that the place slopes much, but there is a wide field there which is called the 'flower garden.' This place is visited by both Eastern and Western Christians alike, with most zealous devotion; but the Saracens, out of jealousy of us, generally bes foul the place with dung, and bedaub with filth the stones which the pilgrims are wont to kiss. So on this day, when we came to this place, we found it freshly defiled in a shameful fashion. Herein we were not so angry with the Saracens as we were with our own selves, knowing on the other hand that it was in consequence of our sins that God suffered this to be done, and that He powerfully stirs up the Saracens to do these things, to the end that the holy places may be defiled before the eyes of pilgrim knights and nobles, who may thereby be roused up to deliver the Holy Land, to avenge the malice which prompts such great insults, and to kindle their zeal for the places wherein our redemption [146 a] was wrought. That God powerfully stirs up the Saracens to act thus is proved by the fact that this place is far from the haunts of men, and that this collected filth must be carried in a pitcher from the city, or from the lower parts of the Mount of Olives, where also there are houses, and the places which we adore carefully bedaubed, which beastly action no one would commit were he not strongly in-

fluenced by something more than mere human will. However, this good is made manifest even by this filthy act, that they reckon that we are much interested in these places, and therefore are strong Christians, and when they see that in spite of their defilements we reverence and kiss the holy places, albeit they are not edified, yet they are confounded thereby. So we went to this place, wiped away the filth with our garments, and being moved by a feeling of pity to greater devotion and respect, kneeled down in this filth out of worship for the holy places, and received indulgences (†). Even so one who saw the host lying in the mud would straightway fall into the mud himself, and would not regard his own defilement, provided that he could save the sacrament from insult.

THE PLACE WHERE PETER CUT OFF THE EAR OF THE WICKED MALCHUS.

From thence we went on a little further down along the wall of that garden. Here a stone marks the place where St. Peter stood, and seeing a serving man named Malchus strike the Lord a violent cuff in the face, blazed up with zeal, and aimed a blow with his sword at Malchus, who was coming towards him, meaning to split his head in twain ; but, as he avoided the stroke, Peter cut off his ear. Presently the Lord reproved him, forbade him to fight with the sword, and having had the wounded man led up to Him, healed him in the presence of them all. We kissed this place, and received indulgences (†).

THE FARM OF GETHSEMANE INTO WHICH JESUS CAME.

We now went down the hill nearer to the brook, and came to the place called Gethsemane, where eight of the disciples remained asleep, while the Lord went on with three to the place where He prayed. Here we said the

appointed prayers, and received (†) indulgences. On this spot, in the time of Christ, there was a farm and homestead belonging to the Levites, wherein cattle intended for sacrifice in the temple were kept. After the triumph of Christ the Christians built here a great church, and a monastery for many monks. All these buildings have now been levelled with the ground, but some slight traces of the walls may still be seen.

THE ROCK WHICH SHOWS THE MARKS OF THE TERROR OF THE LORD JESUS.

These four places aforementioned are situated within a small compass, near to one another, and in the same piece of ground. In this piece of ground we were also taken to a wide rock which rises out of the earth, and forms as it were a wide wall, [b] not very high, and not quite upright, but slanting. At the foot of this wall of rock is a piece of flat ground whereon the Lord Jesus was standing when the Jews ran up to catch Him and take Him prisoner. The mob could not quite surround Him, because the rock stood on the east side of Him ; and when they were about to make a rush upon Him, He was afraid, and, turning Himself towards the wall of rock, in His wish to escape from their eager attack, He stretched out His arms and fell upon the wall of rock, not in order to seek any means of flight, but that He might yield Himself up to brutal violence. As He fell thus against the wall, the rock yielded to His most sacred body, and made itself soft, even as though the wall had been formed of yielding wax, and received into itself the print of His body with all its limbs in the very fashion in which He fell against it. These marks are imprinted in the rock so as to show completely the form of the hands and arms, of the head and hat, of the breast and clothes. It is impossible to suspect

that these marks have been cut artificially by any tools, but at the instant when the Lord, troubled in mind, ran against that wall, it received an impression beyond anything that art or industry could make, even as though nature had bestowed that form upon the rock from the beginning. This rock, moreover, is so hard that it appears incapable of being hewn, and no part of it can be broken off by iron tools. So we bowed ourselves down round about this rocky wall, and, after we had said our prayers, rose up, and one after another went up to the place and laid our bodies, as far as we could, in the holy imprint, putting our arms, hands, face, and breast into the hollow, and measuring it by our own figures. God is my witness that I saw this which I have written during my first pilgrimage, and that I laid myself in these marks, which, however, point to a much taller man than I am. It is mentioned by Brother Burcardus, of the Dominican Order, who spent a long time in the Holy Land two hundred years ago, and has clearly and distinctly described the entire Holy Land, and who saw this figure marked on the rock whereof I am now speaking, and has described the same. But now, I cannot tell what I am to say, and I blush, and marvel, and am astounded, nor can I conceive what has become of that rock; for during this my second pilgrimage, we were conducted to all the aforementioned places, and we neither saw that stone, nor heard any mention of it, and so my lords the knights went home with the other pilgrims, and never heard of that stone. After they were gone, when one could make a quieter visit to the holy places, I several times went alone to the Mount of Olives, and searched most diligently for that stone in the place of Gethsemane, up and down, near and far, but I could by no means find it. One day I took with me the Lord Henry of Schomberg, Knight, an active man, and

quite willing to try any experiments whatever, because I was very eager to see that imprint. We both of us sought it up and down, but were not able to find any trace of it. Other knights also, at my instigation, wandered about the hill searching for it, [147 a] but laboured in vain. I even took with me two young brethren of Mount Sion, who earnestly searched for it with me, but we accomplished nothing ; indeed, they declared that they had never heard of it before. I also went to the Father Guardian, Father Paul Gringlinger, Father Peregrine Polanus, and Brother John, of Prussia, men of age and experience, and ancient friars, devout clerical and lay brethren, but no one of them could tell me anything, and I seemed to them to be raving until I showed them the description of Brother Burckhard, which I had with me, and the book of my own former wanderings. I endured much toil in rambling over the mount seeking for it, for I am quite sure that it is not possible for that stone to have been removed from its place, save by a miracle. No new buildings have been made there, and only two years had passed since I saw it first, and to this day I am disturbed at having lost that holy place. If I knew where Brother Anthony, of Flanders, of the Minorite Order, who at that time was the guide to the holy places, is now dwelling, I would go to him, if I could obtain leave, even if he were in England. For although the Evangelists say nought of this stone, and the Canonical Scriptures make no mention of it, yet I should have been pleased to see it, even as we saw and adored many other places, whereof no distinct mention is made by the Evangelists. Neglect, the mother of oblivion, hath taken away this holy place from us ; but it cannot take away from me the sight which I have had of that place, or prevent its appearance remaining fresh in my mind. The Venerable Bede describes a like miracle to

have taken place at Nazareth, near the place where the Lord was to be cast down, wherof we read in the fourth chapter of St. Luke. He says that when the Lord had escaped out of the hands of the Jews, and was coming down from the top of the mountain, He wished to take refuge beneath a rock, and suddenly at the touch of His robes the rock shrank away, and, like melted wax, made a hollow wherein it could receive the Lord's body, where all the shapes and folds of His garments and the prints of His feet may be seen in the rock at this day, according to the testimony of those who have seen it. So De Lyra in his comment on the text, 'But Jesus hid Himself, and went out of the temple, going through the midst of them,' John viii. 59.¹ Similar miracles may be read of as performed by many saints, to whom, by Divine power, rocks have given way, or become soft, as in the case of St. Barbara.

THE PLACE WHERE JESUS SAW THE CITY, AND WEPT
OVER IT.

We departed from the place where the Lord was taken prisoner, and made for the top of the mount, climbing up a steep and stony road which leads to Bethany; for this is the road by which men coming out of Jerusalem by St. Stephen's Gate go to Bethany: but there is another road leading to Bethany from Mount Sion, which itself is divided into an upper and a lower road, as will appear in its place. We went up the road down which the Lord rode upon the ass on Palm Sunday. On the way up we came to a place in the roadway, where a wide rock which reaches all the way across the road renders the path terrifying to animals who pass over it, because the rock is as smooth as though it had been polished, and beasts walk over it with fear, dreading lest they should fall, especially

¹ The reference in the text is wrongly quoted as 'John iv.'

when they are going down hill. At this place the Lord halted with the ass, and casting His eyes upon the city, beheld it, and wept over it, and with much sorrow bewailed its present peace, and foretold its future troubles, as we read in Luke xix. So here we bowed ourselves to the earth, prayed, and received plenary indulgences (††). We stood for a long while in this place of Christ's tears, and gazed upon the holy city, for from this place one can get a very clear prospect of Jerusalem, the Temple, and Mount Sion, the sight whereof is powerful to move the souls of the pious to tears, and it is marked as the place where we read that the Lord wept. Jerusalem, even in its wretched state at the present day, presents a sweet and delightful spectacle from this spot.

THE PLACE WHERE HER DEATH WAS FORETOLD TO THE
BLESSED VIRGIN BY AN ANGEL.

From hence we went on up hill, up the Mount of Olives, and when we had gotten up a good way we turned aside out of the high road to the left hand, and went up through a close full of olive-trees to the uppermost ridge of the mount, which trends long ways from north to south. Upon the ridge itself we turned towards the north, and going along the top came to a stone, which we perceived to be a place of exceeding great holiness; for on account of the frequent visits paid them by Christians, all the holy places have well-beaten paths of their own leading up to them, and are marked with stones, which stones, through much kissing, are as it were dirty, through being touched by the mouths of pilgrims, from whose lips a kind of fatness remains upon the stones which they kiss. Now one day after the blessed Virgin had visited the holy places, she rested here, and the angel Gabriel came to her, and for the second time greeted her with 'Hail,' announcing to her her

immediate death and translation from this world to the Father. ‘Come,’ said he, ‘glorious lady, to Him who was born of thee, and receive again the pledge of thy womb, the recompense of thy nurture, the repayment for thy milk and food, the wages of thy toil, the reward of thy sufferings : thou shalt be the glory of the saints, the ark of those appointed unto salvation, a bridge¹ for those tossing in the waves, a staff whereon the weakly may lean, a ladder for those who would climb up to heaven, a propitiation for sinners, and the helper of all them that call upon thee.’ Saying thus, the angel handed to the Virgin a branch of a most lovely palm, sent from Paradise, as a token of her complete victory over the enemy of the human race, and over the pains and terrors of death, and bade this branch of palm be borne before her bier. Moreover, he bestowed upon her miraculously brilliant funeral clothes, wherein she was to die, to be buried, and to ascend into heaven. Having done this, he ascended into heaven. In this place we said the appointed prayers, kissed the earth, and received indulgences.

THE MOUNT OF GALILEE, WHICH IS A PART OF THE
MOUNT OF OLIVES, WHEREON THE LORD APPEARED
TO HIS DISCIPLES AFTER HIS RESURRECTION.

Next, leaving the place of the presentation of the palm, we went onward along the ridge of the mount towards the north, and at the corner of the Mount of Olives, where it ceases to extend northwards, we came to the brow of the mount, where we found many heaps of stones, and a place of prayer. It is said that in the time of Christ there was a cottage here, named Galilee, in which the Lord promised at the time of His passion that He would appear to His

¹ The text reads *fons*, which seems to make no sense; I have ventured to conjecture *pons*.—A. S.

disciples on the day of His resurrection, for in the twenty-sixth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel he saith, 'After I am risen again, I will go before you into Galilee.' Some say that when the Lord promised that He would shew Himself to His disciples in Galilee after His resurrection, He sometimes meant this village of Galilee, and sometimes the province called Galilee, because He appeared in both places. This village of Galilee is mentioned in Matt. xxvi., and in the twenty-eighth chapter of the same Gospel [148 a] the angel bade the women tell the disciples to go into Galilee, where they would see Him. The Church also sings in the words of Christ, '*In die resurrectionis mede, praecedam vos in Galilaeam,*' etc. Now we know that it was not until many days had passed since the Lord's resurrection that the disciples went down into Galilee, and not on the day of the resurrection. The Evangelist St. Matthew speaks of the province of Galilee in his twenty-eighth chapter, where he says that the eleven disciples went away into Galilee (the province), where he appeared to them both on a mountain, and by the sea of Tiberias. If, then, one understands the Scripture as applying to the two Galilees, there is no difficulty; but if of the province of Galilee alone, it contains great difficulty. Moreover, the commentators and expositors, and Augustine in his harmony of the evangelists, have had much ado to explain the texts which speak of appearances promised to be made in Galilee, because they understand the province alone, and not the village to be spoken of. I have found no ancient doctor of divinity who understands these texts otherwise than as alluding to the province of Galilee, because the appearance which took place there was a public one, and there were on the mountain, to wit, Mount Tabor, more than fifty brethren, as we are told in 1 Cor. xv.: wherefore men speak of the appearance

which took place there, in the province of Galilee, beyond all others. It is said that Eusebius, in his 'Church History,' speaks of the village of Galilee, though I do not remember to have read it. Ludolphus also, in his 'Life of Christ,' understands that some appearances took place in the village of Galilee, which is in Judaea, and others in the province of Galilee. So we worshipped in that place where He is said to have appeared to the eleven, and received indulgences (††), for the greatest indulgences are connected with this spot, because all those indulgences connected with these holy places which the Saracens will not allow pilgrims to visit are collected together at this spot. For there are many exceeding holy places in Jerusalem at which plenary indulgence is to be obtained, to which we are not admitted, such as the Temple of the Lord, Solomon's Porch, the Golden Gate, the Judgment Hall of Pilate, the House of Herod, and the House of St. Anne, which is the birthplace of the Blessed Virgin. The indulgences granted at these places we obtained at this spot. So when we had obtained indulgences, we climbed up over the heaps of stones, and gazed far and wide over the land. Towards the east, beyond the Jordan and the Dead Sea, we saw the mountains of Arabia, the lands of Moab and Ammon, the mountains of Galaath, and so forth. Towards the north we saw the mountains of the district of Galilee, the mountains of Gilboa and Lebanon. Towards the west we had over against us the Holy City, and beyond it we saw the Mount Shiloh, and Mount Ephraim, and the land of the Philistines, almost as far as the Great Sea. Southwards we saw the hills of Bethulia near Bethlehem, and the mountains of Hebron, and Judaea and Idumaea. After this we betook ourselves to examining the place itself. It is, as I have already told you, the end of the Mount of

Olives, and is a place suitable for a castle, and indeed there seem to have been some buildings there once; moreover, upon the top of it there is a cistern, and the whole place is delightful. The histories of the kings of the East say that when the three kings had come near to Jerusalem, darkness covered the earth and the people of this region, wherefore they were not able to enter the city. King Baltazar with his host passed the night on this mount, while King [δ] Melchior lay on Mount Calvary, as I have told you on page 117 *a*, and King Caspar lay on Mount Gihon, and at daybreak they all entered Jerusalem together.

THE PLACE OF OUR LORD'S ASCENSION, THE CHURCH
BUILT THERE, AND THE FOOTPRINTS OF JESUS OUR
SAVIOUR.

After having rested ourselves on the Mount of Galilee, we returned along the road on the top of the ridge of the Mount of Olives, and walked southwards on that high ground towards a great half-ruined church. When we came to it, we went up some stone steps into the vaulted porch, which stands before the door of the church. Before the church-door a Saracen had placed himself with a club, and would suffer no one to enter unless he gave him a madinus, twenty-five of which make a ducat. On the payment of a madinus he let us enter. Now in the midst of this church there stands a great chapel—fair, round, and vaulted, wherein is the exceeding holy place of the footprints of the Lord Jesus Christ, which He left stamped into the rock when He ascended from that place into heaven. We stood before this chapel, and with loud and cheerful voices chanted the hymns and prayers appointed in the processional for the place of the Lord's Ascension; and entering in, as many of us as could go in at one time, we fell down upon our faces, kissed the most holy

footprints of our Saviour, and received plenary indulgences (††).

After this we betook ourselves to viewing the place. It stands upon a high peak of the Mount of Olives, at the southern end thereof, even as Galilee aforementioned is at the northern end of the mountain, and the place of the annunciation of the death of the Virgin Mary is below the ridge, half way between Galilee and the place of the Ascension. In this holy place there stands a great round church, beautifully built in such sort that on the top it is not covered by a vault, but the vaulted roof has a wide opening purposely made in it, beneath which opening stands the chapel of the Lord's Ascension, even as doth the chapel of the Lord's Sepulchre. Historians tell us that when first the faithful were building a church on the place of the Lord's Ascension, and intended to cover it with a vault, they could by no means fit together the stones of the vaults, and such stones as they set up straightway fell down again. When the believers saw this, they understood that it was God's will that the place of the Lord's Ascension from earth to heaven ought not to be blocked up by walls or vaults, but ought to remain free, clear, and open. So as they built they brought the vault round, resting upon the round wall, but they did not complete it; but, as I said before, they left a great opening, whose edge they have cased all round with cut and polished stones. When the builders were about to pave the church with marble slabs, and wished to cover the place where Christ's feet stood when He ascended, the stones when laid upon that place straightway flew back into the faces of the builders, and this came to pass [149a] as often as they attempted to cover the place. Once there was adjoining this church a great monastery of black (Benedictine) monks under a mitred abbot, and in very

early times there dwelt in this place holy and devout men at whose instance and entreaty Jerome wrote the ‘Lives of the Fathers,’ as may be read in the preface to that book. In those golden times so many lamps burned in this church, kept alight therein by the faithful, that they lighted up the whole Mount of Olives, and their radiance shone to the further side of the valley of Jehoshaphat, and illumined the hither gate of the city of Jerusalem. Opposite to this church was and still is the Temple of Solomon, in which likewise so many lights and lamps used to burn that they lighted up the hither side of the Mount of Olives. By the radiance of the lights which shone from those two churches the whole valley of Jehoshaphat was lighted up, the mount of the temple was lighted by the church on the Mount of Olives, and the Mount of Olives by the church on the mount of the temple. Furthermore this church was of old graced by the following miracle, which I have learned from the book of the pilgrimage of a holy man who was present and beheld it. It was the custom of the early Christians that on the day of the Lord’s Ascension, after the services of mass, all the people of Jerusalem came out to the Mount of Olives, and remained there instant in prayer awaiting the hour of noon, at which the Lord Jesus was taken up into heaven. When this hour came, suddenly an exceeding violent blast of wind rushed down from heaven, and poured its whole force through the opening in the roof of the church, so that the whole mountain quivered at the shock, and all who were present fell upon the earth, until that delightful yet terrible storm had passed away. This used to take place every year on Ascension Day. But when the Holy Land was taken by the Saracens they desecrated this holy church, and made a mosque of it. But as in spite of all prohibitions Christian pilgrims would visit this church, and were wont to enter it

at night by stealth that they might kiss the footprints of the Saviour, therefore the Saracens would not either let us have it or keep it themselves, but pulled down the east end of it, took away from the walls and from the pavement all the casing of marble slabs, and removed the precious columns. Howbeit they left untouched the chapel of the place of Christ's footprints, and the rock which contains them, because they also respect the holy footprints. On this rock are to be seen the prints of both the feet of the Lord Jesus, though the print of the right foot is the plainer of the two. These prints are kissed by Christians and Saracens alike. Now one of the pilgrims, moved by a pleasant spirit of piety, having with him a flask of exceeding sweet wine, poured some of it into the hollow formed by the footprints, and the rest licked it out as they kissed them, and as fast as the place was emptied he poured more in. On the north side of this church there is a hole in the wall so high up that a tall man can only just reach it with his uplifted arm. Pilgrims raise themselves up to this hole and put their hands upon it, declaring that there in the wall is some of that very stone whereon Christ stood when He ascended into heaven ; but whence they get this idea I know not. At the east end there used to be a great stone, whereon the Lord sat when He [b] reproved them for their want of faith and hardness of heart, as we read in the last chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel ; but now the east end is almost destroyed, and within it there are dwelling-places for husbandmen, and byres for goats, because a farmhouse adjoins the church on the east side, which house is called in their language. . . .

There is, however, a wall drawn across the middle of the church, which cuts off the east end, where these rustics live, from the western part, wherein is the chapel of the Lord's Ascension. This church stands, as I have told you,

opposite to the Lord's temple, but much higher than the temple, though that likewise stands upon a mountain, and it can be seen a great way off, as is told on page 90 *b.* It is directly to the eastward of the temple of the Lord, which they call Solomon's Temple, so that at the equinoxes the rising sun appears as it were to rise out of this church and to go up from it, as I have often watched it doing. When I saw this I no longer wondered that the Church sings upon the day of the Lord's Ascension, 'Sing unto the Lord, who ascendeth above the heaven of heavens in the east.' Of this I shall speak at greater length on page 171 *b.* From the city of Jerusalem to the place of the Ascension is three good Italian miles, by the way whereby we went up thither.

THE PRAISE OF THE PLACE OF THE LORD'S ASCENSION,
WHEREIN WILL ALSO BE GIVEN A DESCRIPTION
THEREOF, AND LIKEWISE OF THE VALLEY OF JE-
HOSHAPHAT, OF THE BROOK CEDRON, OF THE
VALLEY OF TOPH AND OF HINNON, ALL OF WHICH
LIE ABOUT THE FOOT OF THE MOUNT OF OLIVES.

The place of the Lord's Ascension is one of especial sanctity among all the holy places of the Holy Land, and thither pilgrims are impelled with wondrous zeal, forasmuch as it is ennobled by seven peculiar virtues; for it is:

(I.) Exceeding venerable, because in ancient times there was here a famous high place, up to which David went to pray, as we are told in the sixteenth chapter of the second Book of Kings, and on page 171 of this work, and because thereon the disciples were made lords of all lands, since they were bidden, 'Go into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature' (Mark xvi.).

(II.) It is a place which should be loved, because here

He ascended into heaven, and showed us the path to the heavenly kingdom.

(III.) The place is wonderful, because of the most cruel destruction of Antichrist ; for theologians, as, for instance, Richardus, towards the end of his fourth book, tell us that in this place Antichrist will be slain by the Lord Jesus. For, according to the vision in Daniel xi., Antichrist will come up to the top of the Mount of Olives, which the prophet calls a glorious and holy mountain ; he will set up his throne in the place from whence Christ ascended, and will fancy that he, too, will ascend into heaven. Him the Lord Jesus will slay with the breath of His mouth, giving a fearful cry, at which sound Michael shall rise up against Antichrist, whom he will strike with a thunderbolt and sink to the bottom of the great pit.

(IV.) This place is terrible, because of the seat and throne of the Last Judgment ; for in this place the Lord Jesus will set up His judgment [150 a] seat, wherefore the angels in the first chapter of the Acts of the Apostles said, ‘Even as ye have seen Him ascending into heaven, so shall He come with great power to judge the quick and the dead.’

(V.) This place is dreadful, because of the casting down of sinners into hell ; for those sinners who are damned shall stand in the valley of Jehoshaphat, which valley, as I have said above, page 142 a, joins the accursed valley of Ennon or Gehennon, which reaches from thence through horrible desert tracts to the Sea of Devils, which is otherwise called the Dead Sea. As soon as those dreadful words of the Judge shall be heard, ‘Depart from Me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire’ (Matt. xxv.), there will break forth from the northern side of this valley a stream of fire, running exceeding swiftly, which will enfold all the wicked, and will roll them violently along from the valley of

Jehoshaphat into the dreadful valley of Toph, Tophet, and Hennon. On this subject consult the notable passage in Isaiah xxx. From thence they will be brought by the stream through that great valley into the Dead Sea, which is also called the Sea of Devils, into whose jaws that fiery river will be received, and soon, as it pours in, the whole sea will be set on fire by it, and beneath the sea hell will open its mouth, boundless in width, and will swallow up the whole. In fact and truth the position of the place is as follows : the Mount of Olives is a long way towards the east ; it reaches from the north towards the south, and to it is joined on the same side the Mount of Offence, which likewise extends a long way. On the west side is the mount of the holy city, whereunto the Mount Sion adjoins, behind which lies the Mount Gihon over against the Mount of Olives and the Mount of Offence, and the space midway between them is called the valley of Jehoshaphat, at the bottom of which is the brook Cedron. The valley of Jehoshaphat and the brook Cedron start from the place of the stoning of Stephen, and end at the foot of Mount Sion, in the place where the waters of Siloam join the brook, and there it is called the valley of Siloam, which reaches as far as the well of Rogel. From this place begins the valley which is called ‘the shady valley’; beyond this it is called the valley of Hennon, Toph, or Tophet, from whence the name of Gehenna has been taken ; and this name it retains all the way down its course, among hideous mountains and past steep cliffs, down to the accursed stinking, deceitful Dead Sea, beneath which, it is said, opens the yawning mouth of the pit of hell. So then, after the wicked have been judged, the brook Cedron will be filled to overflowing with a river of fire breaking forth from its north side, whence it will begin to break forth, because ‘out of the north an evil shall break forth’ (Jerem. i. 14); it will

envelop them and lead them along the aforesaid valleys, which all communicate one with another, without any mountains to block them up, down to the Dead Sea [b]. So the valley of Jehoshaphat will be the place of those who are to be damned, who will stand in the brook Cedron, as unclean; for this place was ever a sink of all uncleanness, or rather a sewer down which uncleannesses ran into the sink, that is, into the Dead Sea. We read in 1 Kings xv., that Asa the king destroyed the Priapus, the exceeding filthy idol of his mother, and burned it in the brook Cedron, with all the uncleanness of the idols. Likewise in 2 Chron. xxix. 16, 'And the priests went into the inner part of the house of the Lord, to cleanse it, and brought out all the uncleanness that they found in the temple of the Lord . . . and carried it abroad into the brook Cedron.' Moreover, in 2 Chron. xxx., we are told that the children of Israel assembled in Jerusalem and broke the altars, destroyed everything whereon incense was burned to idols, and threw them into the brook Cedron. Moreover, they broke the idols and altars into pieces, and cast the powder into the brook Cedron. Besides this, all the other filth from the city used to drain down into the brook Cedron, and when the brook was in flood it was all carried down with a rush into the Dead Sea.

Another reason why the valley is unclean and accursed is that devils used to be worshipped in it, and divination was practised in it, as we read in 2 Chron. xxviii., of King Ahaz, who burned incense in the valley of Hinnon, and purified his children in fire there, after the fashion of the Gentiles. This valley of Hennon is the same as the valley of Jehoshaphat, and this same valley is likewise called Cela, while the brook Cedron is called Chrinarus. Now, as is commonly believed and

taught, all kindreds of the earth will be assembled together in this valley. Wherefore men are wont to inquire of those who have been in the Holy Land, how large that valley is, whether it be so wide that therein all men can stand on the day of judgment. Simple folk care for nothing else, but are anxious about the size of the valley of Jehoshaphat ; and sometimes it has happened, and does still happen, that pilgrims pile up stones for themselves in that valley, wishing before the day of judgment to secure a place for themselves whercon they may sit on the day of judgment. And sometimes simple folk give money to pilgrims about to set out to Jerusalem, to mark a place for them with a stone in the valley of Jehoshaphat, to which place they believe that they will come on the day of judgment. When such men question one about the size of the valley, in good sooth one is forced to answer that the valley is of no great size, and that in its present form it would hardly be able to take in one nation, for all the Swabians who are now actually alive could barely find standing room in it, without mentioning those who have been, or who will hereafter be. But on the day of judgment the shape of that valley will be diffrent, as will be that of the whole earth also ; for before the judgment the world will burn and be freed from all uncleanness, nay, from all unevenness also, for the strait places shall be made wide, and the crooked and rough into flat highways. That this valley will be enlarged is evident from Zach. xiv., where we are told that the Mount of Olives shall be riven from the east to the west, and one part of the mount shall be upon the south side, and the other on the north side [151 a], and this cleft in the mountain shall be as deep as a continuation of the valley of Celacin from the West.

The Mount of Olives will have another cleft in it, from

the north to the south, so that the two clefts will intersect one another in the form of a cross, and the Mount of Olives will be divided crosswise, and those who are to be judged will stand in the valleys formed by this cross. When this division is made, let no one be anxious about the room, which would be ample even if the world remained in its present form; for the cleft in the Mount of Olives towards the east hath beyond it the exceeding wide plain country of Jericho, and the vast wildernesses of Jordan, which could contain all the people in the world.

One ought likewise to reply to them, and indeed it is a better answer, that those who have spent their lives well, righteously, and virtuously here on earth will have altogether unmolested places to stand in prepared for them by their angels. But the vicious and wicked will have very cramped and wretched places, and will stand in great misery, so that the whole world shall seem to them too small, and they shall say to the mountains, ‘Fall upon us,’ and to the hills ‘cover us.’ Wherefore thou need’st not secure thy place beforehand, seeing that if thou art a good man, thy angel will make ready an excellent place for thee, and will not suffer thee to be anywhere save in a place of honour. If thou art wicked, and hast set up a stone for thyself, that stone shall cry out against thee, neither will the evildoer have any place wherein to rest; for the just will miraculously and gloriously stand in the air, but the unjust will stand on the earth in the fire, in disgrace and misery, shrieking and howling. For an account of this valley and its names see page 233 *a*.

Lo, from what hath been said it is plain how dreadful this place must be to sinners.

(VI.) This place is desirable because of the consolation of the elect; for from this mount the Lord will cast down death, and will destroy the face of the covering cast over

all people, and the vail that is spread over all nations, and in this mountain shall the Lord of hosts make unto all people a feast of fat things full of marrow, etc. (*Isaiah xxv.*). For all the things which are spoken of in that chapter properly belong to the Mount of Olives, albeit some explain them as belonging to the Mount Sion. Let anyone who pleases read that chapter and the next one to it, and he will see many proofs of what has been said above. This place is desirable because from thence after the judgment is over the Lord will ascend into heaven together with all the elect who have been since the beginning of the world.

(VII.) This place is to be taken as a lesson, because of the examples of sublime devotion which have come to pass thereon. Here stood the most blessed Virgin Mary, thrilled with unspeakable joy as she beheld the Ascension of her Son. Here also stood the apostles and more than five hundred of the brethren with upturned faces, gazing earnestly into the clouds, and with devout contemplation longing to follow the Lord. Angels likewise were present, and said to them, ‘Ye men of Galilee, why stand you looking up...?’ Wherefore we read in the last chapter of St. Luke’s Gospel that they returned to Jerusalem with great joy. It is also told, and is a pious tradition, that after her Son’s Ascension the Virgin Mary every day visited this holy place, gave herself up to especially devout meditation, and with all the strength of her mind raised herself up to the contemplation of heavenly things. It is also told of a certain pilgrim [b] knight, that after he had visited all the holy places wherein Christ wrought out our salvation, at last he climbed up to this place, and, falling down upon the earth in prayer, cried out, ‘Lo, Lord Jesus, I have sought Thee as carefully and as devoutly as I could throughout the earth; I know not where to seek for Thee

after this place, for here Thou didst leave the world, and returnedst to the Father. I pray Thee, Lord, bid me come unto Thee, that I may seek Thee and find Thee at the right hand of the Father.' When he had finished this prayer he with a cheerful countenance breathed his last in the sight of all his fellow pilgrims, and by his death found in heaven Him whom he had sought in his pilgrimage through the holy places.

OF THE MOUNT OF OLIVES, ITS NAMES, AND ITS HOLINESS.

From what hath been aforesaid somewhat of the shape of the Mount of Olives will be understood; but I have thought well to add what follows, that it may be more clearly known. In the eleventh chapter of the Book of Daniel it is called 'the glorious holy mountain,' and moreover it is commonly called the Mount of Olives. Yet is its proper name the Mount of Lights, for this mount is first lighted by the sun. At dawn it is straightway lighted by the sun's rays before the other mountains, and from it the rays are passed on to the holy city and the temple; for Solomon's Temple was so built that its door looked towards the east, and the altar with the ark of the covenant stood in the western part of the temple over against the door; and when the sun rose, and passed over the top of the Mount of Olives, the first rays which it sent forth from the brow of that mount towards the city entered into the door of the outer tabernacle, through the door of the inner tabernacle, and through the door of the inner tabernacle they made their way even to the ark of the covenant, which was lighted up by the first stroke of the sun's rays. Now the Church of the Lord's Ascension always receives the first rays, as has been told above, page 149 [b], and it passes them on to the temple of the Lord; and if it had

two doors over against one another, one in the east wall and the other in the west wall, then at the equinoxes the rising sun would have sent its rays through those doors, even to the doors of the temple of the Lord, to the ark of the covenant, and to the mercy-seat, and to the cherubim. Therefore it was called the Mount of Light.

Secondly, it was called so because at nights it was lighted up on the western side by the lights in the temple of the Lord ; for there were so many lamps burning in the temple of Solomon that they lit up the mountain opposite to them, as has been told above, page 149 *a*. Even at the present day the light from the temple is shed upon this mount ; for it is said that the Saracens have seven hundred lamps always burning therein, and eight hundred in the church by the side of the temple. I was once on the Mount of Olives by night, and saw through the windows of the temple as bright a fire therein as though it were a lantern filled with clear flame.

Thirdly, it is called the Mount of Lights because on its top, in the place where the Lord ascended, the priests of the old law were wont every year to make a great fire, and they used to bring out a red heifer, with all the people of Israel following them, and burned it there as a burnt-sacrifice to the Lord. They collected the ashes of the heifer, and made the water of purification by mixing these ashes with it, by sprinkling with which they used to purify the people from many sins against the law, and this was done with great solemnity, as we read in Numbers xix.; and they did it on this mountain, as Jerome tells us in the ‘Life and Death of St. Paula.’ Never throughout the whole year did the people of Israel meet together at a fire without the walls, save at the ceremony of the burnt sacrifice of the red heifer ; wherefore they named the mount after that fire and light, or else from the ashes and

water of purification which was kept there. Now, besides the mystery of Christ and His passion there are two reasons for the sacrifice of the red heifer. First, it was to atone for the sin which they had committed in worshipping the calf in the wilderness, which calf was red, for it was newly wrought of the finest gold, which is red before it be filed or polished. The second cause is that the children of Israel learned this ceremony from the idolaters in Egypt; wherefore the Lord, having compassion on their frailty, did not change the ceremony, but its meaning and purpose. For the Egyptians in very ancient times looked upon their King Osiris as a god—nay, thought him to be a god. This man was slain by his brother Typhon, a red-haired, impious, and wicked man, who cut him into twenty-six pieces and sent them to his followers in divers places. Howbeit Isis, the wife of him who was slain, a giantess and a woman of exceeding might, seized upon her husband's kingdom, collected his members together, and placed them in a golden chest. She built a temple, instituted priests, and ordained a service of sacrifices to Osiris, ordering that out of hatred for the crime of the red-haired Typhon both red-haired men and beasts should be burned at the tomb of Osiris as a burnt-offering. Wherefore when the worship of Osiris became known throughout the countries of the world, people who wished to sacrifice to him in like manner would bring either a red-haired man or a red bull or a red cow to be slaughtered; whereby it came to pass that no red-haired man was left alive in the whole land of Egypt, and in other lands red-haired men were viewed with hatred by the worshippers both of Osiris and of Isis, because of Typhon the fratricide, on account of whose wickedness all red-haired men were suspected of evil. So likewise Christians portray the accursed Judas the traitor in the likeness of Typhon, and sneer at and insult red-

haired men, even of the greatest piety. Thus do innocent red-haired men pay the penalty of crimes which they have not committed. The myth of Osiris, Isis, and Typhon is written in the fourth chapter of the first book and in the fourth chapter of the second book of the 'Ancient History' of Diodorus Siculus.

[152a] Fourthly, it is called the Mount of Lights, because it was lighted by the lamps and lights of the churches which stood thereon. For there was the church of the Lord's Ascension, full of lamps, as is told on page 149a; the church in Galilee; the church of St. Mark; the chapel of Pelagia; the church of Christ in agony; the church of the sepulchre of the blessed Virgin; the church of Christ's tears; the church in Gethsemane; the church in Bethphage; the church of St. James; and many others, in all of which lamps used to burn, whereby not only the Mount of Olives, but also the mount of the temple and the holy city over against it, were lighted up.

Fifthly, it was called the Mount of Lights because oil, the food of lights, grows there abundantly. Therefore it is called the Mount of the Olive Grove, or of Olives, which grow there in great numbers of their own accord without being planted. The oil which grows thereon is used at this day to feed the lamps in the temple of the Lord. Thereon are olive-trees so huge and so ancient that I believe that some of them have been there from the time of Christ even to our own days. St. Augustine, in his commentary upon St. John's Gospel, says that the Mount of Olives is the mount of anointing and of unction, the mount of fatness and fulness, the mount of purging and healing. This he says because of the abundance of olive-trees which grow there, whose fruit is unctuous, earthy, and delicious, for, as Isidorus says, olive-oil through the bitterness of its root comes to be food for light, medicine for wounds, and refreshment for the hungry.

Sixthly, it is called the Mount of Lights because it is loftier than all the other mountains, and from it a man can see the country round about far and wide by the light of his eyes.

Seventhly, it is called the Mount of Lights because it is delightful to behold, and gladdens the eyes of one who sees it from the opposite hill. For there are upon it gardens of olives and fig-trees, pomegranates, and other fruits. In ancient times cedars and cypresses and vines, and all that man can want, grew at its foot. So much, then, about it. This Mount of Olives and valley of Jehoshaphat are mentioned by St. Bernard in his sermon to the Knights of the Temple, chapter viii.

OF THE CAVE OF ST. PELAGIA, SINNER AND PENITENT.

When we had done in the church of the Lord's Ascension all that for which we had gone up thither, we came out of it, and went down some steps into a road which leads down a steep place into the valley. After we had gone down a little way beyond the steps, we came to a darksome chapel of St. Pelagia, wherein she wrought her work of penitence, and wherein she ended her life. Before the mouth of this grotto there ever stood a Saracen, who forbade us to enter until we had given him some money, after getting which he let us in. When we had entered, we read the appointed prayers, and received indulgences (†); moreover, we were greatly edified at the penitence of St. Pelagia. She was, as we are told in the 'Lives of the Fathers,' an ambitious and vain woman of the leading society of Antioch, and was, moreover, wanton and unchaste. After many crimes and homicides had been committed on her account, she was converted, and said, 'I, Pelagia, am a sea of sin, overflowing with waves of wickedness; I am a pit of perdition; I am a pitfall and a halter

for souls ; deceived myself, I have deceived many others, but now I shudder at all these things.' See, if you choose, this story very beautifully set forth in the chronicle of Antoninus, part i., volume vii., chapter ix., § 6. [b] Thus confessing her sins, she betook herself to the Church, and after having been instructed by the Bishop of Antioch, sold all her possessions, and gave the money to the poor, not wishing her property to be bestowed upon churches and priests, but upon the needy alone, holding herself unworthy that her property should be converted to holy uses. After having done this and changed her dress, she secretly departed from Antioch, made her way to the holy Mount Olivet, and betook herself to this cave, where she lived a most religious life to the wonderment of the whole country, while no one knew her to be a woman until, when she was dead, she had to be washed in the presence of the holy priests and bishops, who, astonished at what they saw, buried her in her own cell, where her sepulchre may be seen even to this day. There is a narrow passage between the sepulchre and the wall nearest to it, so that he who would pass through it can only do so with difficulty, and has to drag himself through the stonework. There is a common fable that no one who is living in mortal sin can pass through this place. This I consider to be a fable, for all of us passed through it ; whether we were all in a state of grace, God knows.

THE PLACE WHEREIN THE TWELVE ARTICLES OF FAITH
WERE COMPOSED BY THE APOSTLES.

After coming out of the cave of St. Pelagia we went on down the side of the mount, and passing by the road which leads to Bethphage and Bethany, we climbed over a dry stone wall into a garden, and came to the ruins of a great church, which is called the church of St. Mark the

Evangelist. In this church there were once indulgences, as indeed there are at this day, which indulgences we obtained by saying prayers (†). This church is said to stand in the place where the holy apostles composed the creed of our faith. Here they met together by themselves, that they might be away from the noise of men, and by the inspiration of God composed the articles of the faith. After having composed them they passed over to the Mount Sion, called together the first holy council of the universal Church, laid before it the Articles and the Creed, discussed them, and gave them over to the Church to be published abroad throughout the world, as has been told on page 106 *a*. So in this place we professed this same faith anew and said the Creed.

THE PLACE WHERE THE LORD TAUGHT HIS DISCIPLES
TO SAY THE LORD'S PRAYER.

Leaving the garden which contains the aforesaid church for the road which leads down the steep hillside, we came down into the valley, and went down it a little way to the place where we understood that a church or oratory once stood, which church was called 'the house of bread.' Here we said the appointed prayers and received indulgences (†). This church is said to have been built on the place of which we read in the eleventh chapter of St. Luke's Gospel, that, when Jesus was praying in a certain place, after He had finished His prayer one of His disciples said to Him, 'Lord, teach us to pray.' There He taught them the Lord's Prayer, which is most acceptable to God—short, and exceeding profitable. He had uttered this prayer before on another mountain in the land of Galilee, in a long sermon, [153 *a*] as we read in the fifth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel. When the Lord had prayed for a long time in this place, His disciples wondered how He

prayed, and asked to be taught to pray. He gave them the same form of prayer which He had previously uttered in His public sermon. This prayer surpasses all other prayers, because it was set forth by the mouth of the Saviour Himself, who hath therein condensed all our human prayers into one wholesome sentence. So here we said the Lord's Prayer with more than usual devotion, and frequently kissed the place. I believe that this was called the church of the Lord's bread, because therein we were bidden to ask for bread, as well for the body as for the soul. In this place there is at the present day a deep cistern, but without water.

THE PLACE WHERE CHRIST PREACHED THE SERMON ON THE EIGHT BEATITUDES.

We left the House of Bread, and going on further down the hill, came to a place in which there was a wide road covered with smooth stone, as though it were paved with marble.. In this place they say that Christ sat, and repeated to His disciples and took up again the sermon on the eight beatitudes, which He had previously preached in Galilee on a mount, and also in the plain country, even as it is clear that He did in the case of the Lord's Prayer, albeit this cannot be gathered from the Evangelists. In the fifth chapter of St. Matthew we read that He preached upon the eight beatitudes on a mountain, and in the sixth chapter of St. Luke that He afterwards repeated this same sermon on a plain at the foot of a mountain in the land of Galilee. Afterwards, when He came into Judaea, He is believed to have preached it yet another time in this place. This is not found in the Gospels, but it is an ancient tradition of the saints, that that precious sermon was uttered in this place also ; for a preacher who has a good and profitable subject will often preach upon it many times, both in

the same place and in divers places. At this place we bowed ourselves down in prayer, and received the indulgences appointed (†).

THE PLACE WHEREIN THE LORD PROPHESIED TO THE DISCIPLES ABOUT THE LAST JUDGMENT.

Below the aforesaid place we came to the place spoken of in the thirteenth chapter of St. Mark, where Jesus sat with His disciples, and, being questioned by them about the destruction of the city and of the temple, which they had before their eyes, told them many things about the persecutions that should befall them, and of Antichrist, and the last judgment, and of signs in the sun, and the moon, and the stars, of which we read in the twenty-first chapter of St. Luke. In this place we kissed the sacred footprints and received indulgences (†).

THE PLACE WHERE THE BLESSED VIRGIN USED TO TAKE BREATH AND REST WHEN MAKING HER PILGRIMAGE.

When we had gone down a little lower from the place where Christ sat, we came to the place where the blessed Virgin Mary was wont to sit down and rest during her daily [b] pilgrimage. We learn from the writings of the Fathers—to wit, of Jerome in one of his epistles, of Augustine, of Anselm, of Bernard, and of St. Vincent of Damascus in his sermon on the Assumption, that after her son's Ascension the blessed Virgin Mary every day, with exemplary devotion, visited all the places wherein our redemption was wrought. Though she was in the spirit, yet as long as she lived in the flesh she was moved by fleshiy feelings, and therefore was refreshed by visiting those places, and was daily inflamed with fresh feelings of love, all the more powerfully the more she was illumined.

nated within by divine visitations. Let us therefore reckon this most devout pilgrimage of the glorious Virgin Mary as an act of practical piety.¹ The glorious Virgin, according to the common belief, survived her Son's Ascension fourteen years, which years she passed as a pilgrim, moving actually in the body from place to place. She vowed to make three pilgrimages as long as she lived in this world: the first a yearly, the second a monthly, and the third a daily one. Firstly, it is believed that every year she went down from Jerusalem to Nazareth, and there most devoutly visited the place where she had been greeted by the angel, calling to mind all the joy which she had felt in conceiving the Son of God, and returning thanks to God for the immense benefit conferred by Him upon the whole world through her in that holy place. After she had accomplished this she returned by the same road by which, after she had conceived the Son of God, she had hastened to the mountains of Judaea and greeted Elizabeth, and humbly waited on her when she was delivered of John, as is told in the first chapter of St. Luke's Gospel. As she returned by this way, her sweetest joy of heart was renewed, more especially when she came to the place wherein her spirit rejoiced when she chanted that sweetest of hymns, the *Magnificat*, whereat the child in her womb was thrilled with joy, and leaped and rejoiced. After she had visited this place she returned to Jerusalem.

Secondly, she is believed to have passed over from Jerusalem to Bethlehem once every month, and there to have entered the grotto from whence she shed abroad that eternal light upon our world, Jesus Christ our Lord. Who can describe the joy which she felt in this place! Instead of the plenary indulgences for the remission of sins, which

* That is, as contrasted with theoretical or contemplative piety.

other sinners carry away from this place, she carried away, besides an increase of her deserts, a plenary illumination and consolation of her mind. O, what a sweet and profitable exchange!

Thirdly, she was careful every day to visit the holiest places in Jerusalem and the neighbourhood. In the early morning, as dawn drew nigh, after having received the sacrament from St. John on the Lord's Mount of Sion, she went forth with her maidens, and entered that great chamber which had been made ready for the Last Supper, where she meditated upon the immense boon there conferred upon the human race, looked into the deepest mysteries, and kissed the place where her Son had sat. From thence she would go to the house of Annas the high priest, and after praying there entered the hall of Caiaphas, and mused, not without sorrow, upon the sufferings undergone by her Son in that building. Thence she went down from the Mount Sion out of the city, and came to the rock of the Cross, which she embraced and sweetly kissed, pitying that dearest One who was crucified thereon, and rejoicing nevertheless in His precious devotion to those whom He redeemed. From thence entering into the garden of the Lord's [154 a] tomb, she would go to the place where the body of her Son and Lord was anointed and preserved in spices, where she kneeled and kissed the stone; and swiftly rising from thence, made her way to the Lord's tomb, whose cave she entered, and, embracing His sepulchre, was filled on that spot with unspeakable joy. Leaving these places, she went down the hill of Calvary towards the city gate, and on her way, not unmindful of her Son, how He was led out of the city along that path burdened with the heavy cross, and in the places where she had seen her Son either fall beneath the load of the cross, or be assailed by some especial outrage, she would

kneel down and pray. Thus she would enter the city by the gate of judgment, go up to Pilate's judgment hall, and kiss the places where He was scourged and crowned, with thanksgiving. Coming out from thence, she would go to the house of Herod, and kiss her Son's footprints there. From hence she would go up to the temple of the Lord, and, after praying there, would leave the temple on the other side, and come to the Golden Gate, where she reflected upon her Son's entrance on Palm Sunday. Passing out through this, she went down into the valley of Jehoshaphat, and there prayed for the whole human race, that they might be worthy to stand there unconfounded on the dreadful judgment day ; for she knew that on that day no prayers, not even her own, would have any weight ; wherefore she addressed the Judge beforehand on that spot. After this she crossed the brook, pointed out to her companions the place of her own sepulture, and, entering the cave, became filled with joy unspeakable, for that she knew that in this place she would first receive the joy of complete fruition, that here she would put on the robe of glory both in the body and in the soul, would be snatched away from this wicked world, and be exalted above the choirs of angels. Next, leaving her sepulchre, she would go a little higher up, and enter the grotto where the Lord Jesus thrice prayed when in the greatest anguish ; there she also, mindful of His agony, would bend her knees on the footprints of her Son, and remain steadfast in prayer longer and more earnestly than elsewhere. Finally, she would enter the garden and farm of Gethsemane, and kiss the places where her Son was taken captive. On leaving this place she would turn away from the valley and make for the church of the Mount of Olives ; but at the place where Jesus looked at the city and wept, she likewise would turn her face towards the city, and lament its misfortunes with

piteous sighs of compassion. Climbing up from thence, she came to Galilee and the cottage, where she reflected upon the glory of the resurrection of her Son, and the joy of His disciples. When she had finished her prayer there, she came walking along the crest of the mount to the place where on the last day of her pilgrimage the angel met her, and announced to her that the time of her departure was at hand. From hence she went on, and came to the place of her Son's Ascension, where she kissed with the utmost devotion the [b] holy footprints marked plainly in the rock. Now, because this place is especially fitted for prayer, she would leave it somewhat soon, that she might have longer time to spend there afterwards, and would cheerfully descend the other side of the Mount of Olives, and go through Bethphage to Bethany, to visit her acquaintances there, and the places where her Son had been—the house of Martha, the grave of Lazarus, the dwelling of Mary Magdalen, and the house of Simon the leper. After having visited there, she again sought the high ground, and climbed upwards, slender and fragile as a wreath of smoke, being already worn away by her various penances, and burned within by the flame of pious love; thus in cheerful guise she would with unspeakable longing seek the top of the holy hill of Olivet, from whence she had descended, and would return to the place of the Lord's Ascension, whither she would go as though herself about to ascend straightway and meet her Son. When she was there, she would caress the aforesaid footprints with many kisses, lifting at one time her eyes, at another her hands, to heaven, and on that spot she would feel much joy at the thought that there the greatest honour possible was bestowed upon her Son and upon herself, when that flesh which had been born of her was taken up from hence and exalted above all the heavens. Leaving this place,

she would make her way home, and walk down the mount, by the place where the apostles had put together the creed which she herself had taught them, where she would stand still for a little space and pray for those who professed the faith. Passing on from thence to the place where the Lord taught them to say ‘Our Father,’ she would stop and say that prayer, and as she went on would give thanks at the place where the eight beatitudes were preached of. From thence she would come down to the place where Christ sat with His disciples, and told them the terrible story of the last judgment; where she offered a prayer that He might be merciful in His second advent, and went on till she came to the dwelling where already at the outset of this pilgrimage of the most blessed Virgin Mary I have said was her place of rest and recovery of breath. Now, at the time when the blessed Virgin Mary was alive there stood there a dwelling, inhabited by good peasants, who, observing the unsailing passing-by of the Virgin, invited her to sit and refresh herself in the shade, and she frequently would come out of the road, sit down, and rest her frail maiden limbs. And albeit she was not wearied or fatigued by labour, yet she concealed this privilege out of humility, even as she concealed the privilege of her virginity in her purification, and the privilege of freedom from pain when at the point of death, which privilege she even concealed by lying in bed as though weak with illness, as has been explained on page 105 *a*. So having resumed her strength, which she had not lost, but which had been in abeyance at the aforesaid place, she came down the foot of the mount into the valley, where, after visiting the sepulchres of some of the prophets, she came to the sepulchre of her own most chaste husband [155 *a*] Joseph, who was buried there in a cleft of the rock, before which sepulchre she would stand and remember him with pleasure. From thence, crossing the

bridge over the brook, she would go up again to Mount Sion, and when there would go to the place where she herself and the disciples received the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost, where again she would be filled with fresh joy. Thence she went down and sought the sepulchre of the prophet David, her ancestor, after which she would go into her own oratory, which was hard by, in which it is a pious belief that she had for relics two great stones which were brought to her from Mount Sinai by angels, one of them from the place where Moses saw the bush burn without being consumed, before which stone she offered fitting thanks for the glorious preservation of her own virginity ; the other from the top of Mount Sion, where the ten commandments were given to Moses ; before which stone she would meditate upon the excellence of those commandments, and thank God that it was through her that He was given to the world by whom every jot and tittle of the law was fulfilled, as we read in the fifth chapter of St. Matthew. She had these two stones, by means of which she could visit the desert of Sinai, because she was in truth a pilgrim. For an account of these stones, see page 103 *b.* After she rose from her prayers at this place she would return to her house, and bring her pilgrimage to an end for that day.

For an account of the house wherein the most blessed Virgin Mary dwelt, see page 205 *a.* On the subject of this pilgrimage of the most blessed Virgin Mary, Odilio, an ancient doctor of the Church, says : ' If we desire to know what the blessed Virgin did after the Lord's Ascension, without doubt she frequently visited the places of the Nativity, the Passion, the Resurrection, and the Ascension, wept therein, and imprinted upon them kisses with her most holy mouth.' And St. Jerome, in his sermon on the Assumption, speaks of this pilgrimage as follows : ' Perhaps

we may suppose that through the greatness of her love she would dwell in the place where her Son was born, died, and was buried, among which places her love would be fed with pious reflections, as it is the property of love always to believe that it finds that for which it longs.' This pilgrimage is also spoken of by Antonius, in his *Summa*, part iv., volume xv., chapter xliii., § 2. Howbeit, both of these writers believe that this pilgrimage of the blessed Virgin Mary is rather to be taken in a spiritual than in an actual sense; though they do not therein deny that she did actually make this pilgrimage, and thereby accumulated great merits. She earned merit by every act of her free will, and consequently by every act of her life. The reason of this is, that the intellect is always right, unless it mixes itself up with vain fancies, and is led astray by them. Now, the intellect of the blessed Virgin was as clear of useless fancies as possible, wherefore she obtained merit by her pilgrimage. The second reason is this: whenever the reason cannot err in its decision, there the will also cannot choose many things, but chooses the last and best of them. Now, all of these conditions were present in the case of the blessed Virgin; wherefore it is written in the tenth chapter of St. Luke's Gospel, 'Mary hath chosen the better part.' Thirdly, the Apostle hath said in the tenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, 'Whether ye eat [b] or drink or whatever ye do, do all to the glory of God.' This precept no saint has been able to keep perfectly save only the most blessed Virgin Mary, who always virtuously commanded the movements of her own free will, and gained merit by so doing. Wherefore Odilio says: 'One thing we know for certain, that is, that every act of Mary's was always done with the thought of the Lord before her eyes.' Jerome also, in his sermon on the Assumption, says: 'I suppose that all the heart and all

the strength of mankind, taken all together, would not suffice to understand fully how ceaselessly she was consumed by the heat of holy love, how she was moved by the incitement of heavenly mysteries to be filled with the Holy Ghost, while she turned over in her mind all that she had heard, had seen, and had known.' From this it is evident that, when she was walking as a pilgrim from place to place, the most blessed Virgin Mary, though she was doing a work of virtue, nevertheless might, nay ought, to have been better employed; since the apostle says, 'The manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal,' 1 Cor. xii.; and 1 Tim. iv., 'Bodily exercise profiteth little, but godliness is profitable unto all things.' She might therefore have neglected this bodily exercise, and have devoted herself entirely to the pious practice of pure contemplation and quietude. It is well known that they who wander in the body are distracted in the spirit. In answer to this we shall reply that the most blessed Virgin Mary had this especial privilege, that at one and the same time she could live a life of action and of contemplation, which never has been granted to anyone else. To some is given an active, to others a contemplative, life; some—for instance, the apostles—live both lives, but at different times. But it was given to the most blessed Virgin Mary to live both lives at the same moment, so that the child could be nourished by her outwardly and its divinity contemplated by her inwardly; she could move from place to place, and nevertheless keep her mind immovably fixed upon its appointed object. The devout panegyrists of the blessed Virgin tell us that she remained ever in a rapture of piety, to which only a few of the greatest saints have attained by snatches and for an instant of time at exceeding long intervals. Besides this, as Albertus tells us, she daily partook of the sacrament of

the Eucharist, as is set forth on page 107 *a*; whereby she obtained such fixity of mind that nothing which she saw or heard could distract her. Every day before setting out on her pilgrimage she heard Mass, and communicated with the most burning piety, and herein was moved by a fervour of spirit belonging to God rather than to herself.

There appears to be another reason why the most blessed Virgin Mary ought not to have gone abroad publicly every day, lest she should or might have been the cause of ruin to anyone; for it must be believed that she was most beauteous in body as well as in soul, seeing that the Holy Spirit saith of her, ‘Thou art fair throughout, in thee is no blemish,’ nor did age or the labour of life passed under a monastic rule disfigure her. The answer to this is that the sight of the Virgin could not lead anyone into sin. St. Bonaventure tells us that he had been truly told by Jews that at the sight of the blessed Virgin Mary, [156 *a*] albeit she was exceeding lovely, no one was inflamed with evil carnal concupiscence, but that all feelings of the kind were extinguished in the beholder by her divine aspect, as though a cold virgin dew breathed forth from her eyes or emanated from her most chaste mind, even as on the contrary one is excited by the sight of a sinful and wanton woman. Furthermore, it seems as though the daily appearance of the most blessed Virgin Mary in public might give occasion for still greater jealousy among the already jealous Jews; for on the Son’s account they were most bitterly incensed against His mother, and when they saw her pass through the city they might perhaps be excited to violence by their rage and anger. To this I reply in the words of the previous answer, that, as the sight of her quenched the fire of concupiscence, even so it damped the fire and flames of jealousy, rage, and hatred, and whosoever looked upon her lost the

fury of cruelty and anger, and became piously and reverently disposed towards her ; wherefore she was respected by all as a puissant, virtuous, honourable, and amiable lady. Thus we read in the twenty-fourth chapter of Wisdom, 'In the holy tabernacle I served before Him, and so was I established in Sion. Likewise in the beloved city He gave me rest, and in Jerusalem was my power. And I took root in an honourable people, even the portion of the Lord's inheritance.' Wherefore even when the Jews were full of anger against her most sweet Son, no one molested the Virgin. We must not believe the painters, who represent Jesus led along carrying the cross, and men striking the Virgin's head and kicking her with their feet. We must bear in mind Horace's maxim,

'All the world knows, there ne'er was anything
Which painters dared not paint, or poets sing.'

So much, then, for the pilgrimage of the most blessed Virgin, which particulars I have thought fit to insert in my book of wanderings, in order that my own wanderings may have the better excuse. So at the place where the most blessed Virgin Mary was wont to refresh herself, we also sat down and took breath and rested ourselves after having said our prayer there, and received indulgences (†).

THE PYRAMID OF JEHOSHAPHAT, AFTER WHOM THE WHOLE VALLEY IS CALLED THE VALLEY OF JEHOSIAPHAT.

Going on from the place where the most blessed Virgin Mary was wont to rest, we went down to the foot of the Mount (of Olives), and when at the foot of the mount, we went down (the valley) towards the south, having the

Mount of Olives on our left hand, the brook Cedron on our right, and above it, on the mount on the other bank of the brook, the holy city. As we went down we came to the bridge over the brook, which, however, we passed by and left behind. While thus walking we came to a costly sepulchre, cut into the shape of a tower out of the solid rock of which the mount is formed. Its builders have cut into a projection of the mount, leaving as much of it standing as was contained in the pyramid, and cutting away the rock round about it, in such sort that the pyramid stands up all alone by itself, as though it had been built there by cunning workmen from the foundations, though in truth it is part of the mount, and hath stood there from the beginning of the world. This pyramid measures sixteen great cubits in circuit, and it [b] may be three cubits in height. At the top it has a sharp-pointed pinnacle, with a roof such as towers have. Beneath the roof it is hollowed out, and windows are cut in it, so that at the back of the pyramid a man can drag himself up and get inside the pyramid through the window, as I did myself one day when I was there alone, wishing to see what was inside. This pyramid was made for the sepulchre of some great king and powerful man, but there are different stories as to who the man was for whom it was made. Some say that King Solomon caused it to be hewn out for a sepulchre for his Ethiopian wife, the daughter of Pharaoh, and that she was buried therein. It was in her honour that he likewise composed the Song of Songs, and he built temples to her idols Moloch and Chamos (*sic*), did many other things, treating God Himself with irreverence for love of her, and last of all he hewed out this noble sepulchre for her. Others say, and this is the received opinion among the Saracens and Eastern Christians, that Absalom, the son of David, caused this rock to be hewn out that he might be buried

therein. This story is based upon the eighteenth chapter of the Second Book of Samuel ; but because he made war against his father, and died miserably, Absalom was buried in another place, beyond the Jordan. Because of this there is a custom that all the boys who pass by this pyramid, whether they be Jewish, Saracen, or Christian boys, pick up stones from the ground, and cast them at him against the pyramid ; and as they throw the stones they curse Absalom, and jeer at him for his evil death, in token of their abhorrence of his disobedience to his father. Moreover, if anyone in Jerusalem hath a disobedient son, he leads him hither and forces him by threats and stripes to cast stones at it, and to curse Absalom, and relates to his son the story of the wickedness and death of Absalom. This is the most efficacious corrective for boys in Jerusalem. In consequence of so many boys throwing stones at it, the pebbles lie in great heaps beside it, and if they were not cleared away from time to time, it would long ago have been covered over with stones. Others say that Jehoshaphat, King of Jerusalem, caused this pyramid to be made that he might be buried therein. This I do not believe, because he was a holy man, a follower after the good deeds of his forefather David, and as he was not divided from him in his life, even so he did not seek to be divided from him in his burial. Thus in the last chapter of the First Book of Kings we are told that Jehoshaphat, when he died, was buried in the sepulchre of his father, in the city of David. Hence it appears that the story ought to be told in another way, that Jehoshaphat was a man of magnificent ideas, who made many wondrous works, amongst which he caused this pyramid to be hewn out to show his grandeur and for a wonder among men, and that hereby he obtained so great renown that the whole of this valley, which previously was called the valley of Cela, was

because of this pyramid, thereafter called the valley of Jehoshaphat by all men unto the present day. There are no indulgences connected with this pyramid ; so, after we had looked at it, we went on to the rest (of the holy places).

THE SEPULCHRE OF JOSEPH, THE HUSBAND OF THE VIRGIN MARY, AND OF THE HOLY OLD MAN SIMEON.

On the right-hand side of the pyramid there are two holes in the wall of rock, which are said to be two sepulchres. In one of them was buried Joseph, the husband of the most [157 a] blessed Virgin Mary, and the bringer-up of Jesus Christ. In the other lies Simeon, the old man who took the Lord in his arms and sang the hymn, ‘Lord, now lettest thou Thy servant depart in peace,’ as we read in the second chapter of St. Luke’s Gospel. We bowed ourselves to the earth before the tombs of these holy men, said our prayers, and received indulgences (†). How holy and remarkable these men were we learn from the Gospel truth, but more especially with regard to St. Joseph no one can doubt that he enjoyed special privileges of grace, and stood high in merit with God, to have had so great a treasure entrusted to him. For his praises see the works of Albertus; he is mentioned in the passage (Luke i. 27), ‘To a virgin espoused to a man, whose name was Joseph.’ See also in Gerson’s works, in his sermons on the Nativity, on the blessed Virgin Mary, and on the incarnation of Joseph. Herein we ought not to believe the painters, who depict Joseph himself as a little decrepit mannikin, bent double and leaning on a staff, gray-headed, and altogether incapable of providing for either the Virgin or her Son. He was a man of vigorous strength, a powerful labourer, a man of ripe middle age, and both before and

after his betrothal to the Virgin he remained undefiled. With regard to these matters, see the aforesaid sermon by Gerson.

THE SEPULCHRE OF THE PROPHET ZACHARIAS, AND OTHER SEPULCHRES AND DWELLINGS OF SAINTS.

Leaving these sepulchres, we came to another tomb hewn in the rock. This they call the sepulchre of the holy Zacharias the prophet, the son of Barachias, whom the Jews slew between the temple and the altar, as Christ cast in their teeth (Matt. xxiii. 35). So here we bent our knees and begged for the mediation of the prophets, and received indulgences (†). After rising up from thence, we went on down the banks of the brook, and passed by many dwellings and cells cut out of the walls of rock on the side of the Mount of Olives, wherein once devout and religious Christian men dwelt; for the Mount of Olives is stony at its foot, and full of hollow caves in the rock, which caves were used by the ancients for sepulchres. In later times they were the dwellings of monks and saints, but now are abandoned alike by the living and the dead, save that in some of them dwell some most unhappy infidels, who for their infidelity can dwell nowhere else among men. We viewed these cells with wonder at the plain living of the saints of old, who out of their love for God and desire for the Holy Land shut themselves up among the tombs of the dead, and endured to dwell in tiny caves; and we felt angry with our own selves, who become weary of dwelling in great palaces and spacious and beauteous monasteries, because we grow lukewarm in our love towards God, and neglect the duties of monastic life.

THE CAVE OF ST. JAMES THE APOSTLE, WHEREIN HE LAY
HID WHILE THE LORD WAS BEING TAKEN.

Now, as we went further down, we came to a great cave, with many works cut into the rock, full of dark hiding-places, with two stories of caverns, and holes cut in the upper chambers like windows. While [b] we were rambling about in this cave, it came into my mind that I had seen a place like it in all respects in Suabia, near Gmünd, which place is called Eberstein. He who has seen the one has seen the other, save that the Palestine one is larger and has the deeper cave. To this cave St. James the Less fled for refuge when the Lord was taken prisoner, and there he lay hid. We are told by Josephus and Jerome, in their lives of famous men, that when the Lord died upon the cross he vowed that he would not eat food until he should see the Lord risen from the dead ; so on the day of the resurrection the Lord came into this cave to him and Himself gave him food. About this apostle see on page 106 a. After the apostle's death his body was brought into this cave, and buried there ; consequently from that time forth the place began to be venerated and resorted to by Christ's faithful people even to this day. Wherefore the Lord Sixtus IV. attached plenary indulgences to this place, which indulgences were first published at the time of my first pilgrimage, and were read on the spot to penitent pilgrims, sealed with a leaden seal. So here we bowed ourselves to the earth, said the prayers appointed in the Processional of the Holy Land, and received (††) plenary indulgences with a devout spirit. I have read in some pilgrim's book that this place was once given to the brethren of the Order of Preaching Friars, who built a church and cloister there, hollowed out still deeper caves in the rock, and dwelt there awhile. At

last, through the insults of the infidels and their constant robberies and attacks, they were forced to depart thence and desert the place, and so the church with its outbuildings and all were brought to nothing. After the departure of the pilgrims I often visited this place, and read my hours therein. I diligently explored its caves, and sometimes used to fancy that I was in the midst of a convent of brethren, and was filled with heartfelt joy. But when I noticed the pitiful desolation of the place, I used to sit sorrowful. This place was very fit for brethren of the Order of Preaching Friars, and at the present day it would be a very suitable place for them to dwell in, if all other circumstances were equally favourable, for many causes, as follows :

I. Because of the admirable preacher for whom the cave was made, that is to say, St. James the apostle, who when in the act of preaching and setting forth the truth was cast down from the chancel rails and lamed ; yet even then he did not cease from preaching until he was cast down from the pinnacle of the temple and died, when he was carried hither from Jerusalem and buried. Now, who ought to own the sepulchre of so earnest a preacher of God save those brethren whose beginning, middle, end, and name is preaching ? For this cause, when our order was first founded it was given the church of St. James at Paris, where up to the present day we have a convent of three hundred brethren of great piety, wherefore in those parts the brethren of the preaching order are called the brethren of St. James.

II. One reason why this place suits the preaching friars is because of the virtues and constancy of this apostle. He was chaste throughout his life, and altogether [158a] apostolic and devout all his days, which things all agree with the customs of the preachers.

III. Because of the Mount of Olives, which mount, as aforesaid, is lighted by the lights of the temple of God, and by the sun, by oil, and by the lamps of the churches. Even so may the Order of Preaching Friars be named a mount of lights, for it is lighted by theological science, which comes from the temple of God ; by moral science, which shines from the sun ; by the light of nature, which comes from their own industry, which is typified by the oil which grows therein, and which is the food of lamps ; and by experimental science, typified by the lamps of the churches.

IV. Because of the brook, wherein is cast all the refuse brought forth from the city, which there vanishes and is washed away, as aforesaid. Even so all the uncleanness of the world is taken away by the wisdom of preachers. Prov. xviii., ‘The words of a man’s mouth are as deep waters, and the wellspring of wisdom as a flowing brook.’ Holy Scripture also is an overflowing brook, whereof a preacher ought to drink, as the Psalm says, ‘He shall drink of the brook by the way,’ and another Psalm, ‘He shall drink of pleasure as of a brook.’

V. Because of the cedars which used to grow beside the brook ; for cedars are evergreen, and lofty, and their wood is incorruptible. Even so the preaching friar hath by his three vows the verdure of chastity, the loftiness of poverty, and the incorruptibility of obedience.

VI. Because the situation of the place is suitable for preaching friars ; for the place lies in a valley, without the city walls, and yet close to the city. Even so preaching friars ought ever to dwell in the valley of humility, away from the noise of the world, yet near to mankind, that they may edify them by their words and example.

VII. Because of its ruggedness ; for the place is among rocks, hard and rough. Even so ought the life of a

preaching friar to be spent in hardship and chastisement of the body, that it may be brought into subjection, lest, after preaching to others, they should themselves become castaways, in the words of the apostle (1 Cor. ix.).

VIII. The place is solitary, meet for study and contemplation, which befit a good and useful preacher, and cannot well be practised in a crowd.

IX. The place is somewhat strait and narrow, typifying the mind collected within itself, and removed from aimless wanderings.

X. The place is close to the Mount of Olives, the Mount of Offence, the Mount Sion, the Valley of Hinnon, and the field of Aceldama. Herein may be noted the variety of subjects for a preacher, who may preach either about the Mount of Olives, or virtues, about the Mount of Offence, or vices, about Aceldama, or death, or about the Valley of Hinnon, that is, about hell and eternal damnation. Or he may preach to the mountains and to the valleys, that is, he may be a debtor both to the wise and to the unwise, as saith the apostle (Rom. i. 14); or to the contemplative and the active; or to the religious and to laymen; to just men and sinners; to good and bad. So much for this subject.

THE BRIDGE OVER THE BROOK CEDRON, AND THE DESCRIPTION OF ITS BANKS UPWARDS FROM THE PLACE WHERE THE BRIDGE CROSSES IT.

When we came forth from the cave after examining it, we did not go any further down the valley, but went back by the way by which we came, as far as the pyramid [b] of Jehoshaphat, near which an arched bridge of stone crosses the brook. So we went to that bridge, and, kneeling

before it in prayer, obtained plenary indulgences (††). The Greek histories, and the writer of the *Speculum Historiale*, tell us the following tale : that when Solomon was building his house of the wood of Lebanon, there came into the hands of the workmen a log of wood which they could not make any use of, and which they threw away. Someone dragged this beam down to the brook, and made a foot-bridge of it across the brook at this spot. Now, when the Queen of Sheba, who is also said to have been one of the Sibyls, was about to cross the brook here together with the king, she became astonished at seeing this wood, and threw herself into the brook and worshipped it, revealing the mysteries of the cross, and saying that this wood would one day form the Saviour's cross. In consequence of this Solomon took the beam away from thence, and sunk it in the bowels of the earth near the Temple, as hath been told on page 140 *b*. In the place of the beam which he had taken away, he caused a stone bridge to be made, and over this bridge the Lord often passed with His disciples, whenever He desired to go to the Mount of Olives, or to Bethany, and it was across this bridge that He was led to the house of Annas. David likewise crossed the brook Cedron at this place barefoot with all the people, when he fled from Jerusalem from before the face of Absalom his son. Here also stood the priests with the ark of the Lord, until the whole of the people had crossed over, as we read in 2 Sam. xv. So here we reverently crossed the bridge, and went up the steep slope of the holy Mount Sion, up which the Lord Jesus was led in bonds from the garden to the house of Annas the high-priest. Howbeit, when we had reached the top of the mount, we agreed that, notwithstanding the exceeding great heat of the day, we would, after dinner, visit and see the rest of the holy places round about Mount Sion, to which we had not yet been.

So the knights hurried down to the hospital of St. John, to take their food, while we religious entered the convent of the brethren, and dined with them.

THE VISIT TO THE PLACES AT THE FOOT OF MOUNT SION, AND FIRST, THE FOUNTAIN OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY.

After dinner those of the pilgrims who were strong met together for further pilgrimage and toil. Indeed, it is no slight labour to go thus in pilgrimage from place to place, as has been noted on page 96 *b*. So when we were met together, we went down from Mount Sion on the northern side of the mount by a long road, leaving the road on our right hand by which we had come up before. Now, on the slope of Mount Sion itself we came to a sort of cave, an open abyss in the earth, through whose mouth we entered, and descended into the bowels of the earth, walking on sand without any stairs; and since we had entered a place which was shaded from the sunlight, we could see nothing, or very little, because it is the nature of the eyes that when one goes into the shade out of the sunlight all seems dark. As we were going down into this cave, [159 *a*] there came to meet us, running swiftly up from the depths below, a fierce Saracen, raging wondrously with loud shouts, displaying his anger in his voice, countenance, and gesticulations, who strove to drive us out of the cave, so that we might not come to the water. But as he was alone, and we were many, we did not heed him, but continued to descend, whereat he redoubled his cries, roused himself to yet more frantic rage, and if he had but had a stick, he would have put us all to flight. When this Saracen saw that we took no heed of him, he swiftly turned himself round, outran all of us who were going down, and planted himself upon the edge of the fountain, where he fought in

every possible way with those who wished to drink the water, and drove back, pushed, and struck them as they came up to it. But a certain Lombard knight from Milan went boldly up to this Saracen, seized him by the arm, and dragged him forcibly away from the fountain. Hereupon the Saracen became enraged against the knight, fell upon him, and began to beat him with his fists, and the knight, on the other hand, defended himself with his fists, because neither of them had any arms, and they became so angry with one another that had not the pilgrims separated them they would have torn one another to pieces. When the Saracen saw that he could not wreak his vengeance on the knight, he began to run swiftly upwards, meaning to bring others to help him to fight with us ; but we caught him and held him fast, though he shouted and struggled exceedingly. Indeed, we should have been in great peril if he had got out of our hands, and we were displeased with the knight. But, after much wrangling, some of the knights untied their purses, and showed the Saracen some money, offering it to him if he would stay there and leave off his noise, and promise to keep the peace with the pilgrim who had struck him. I need say no more : as soon as he saw the money, he changed into a different man, for his countenance became calm, his voice sounded more gentle, his anger was appeased, and he offered himself, cheerfully and without reserve, to serve us in whatever way we might choose, and he who before could not be quieted by words or by blows or by the numbers of the pilgrims, when he saw these coins made ready to obey us, for, as Solomon says in Eccl. x., ‘ Money answereth all things.’ So when he had received money, he went down into the gulf, drew water for all of us, and freely gave it to us. When we had all drunk of that clear water, we came up again, said our prayers before the

mouth of the cave, and obtained indulgences (†); for this is the fountain of the blessed Virgin Mary, and it is said that on the fortieth day, when she came with Joseph and the child Jesus from Bethlehem, that she might present the child Jesus in the temple, she descended into this gulf, and abode there, because she had no place to lodge in the city, any more than in Bethlehem, and yet she did not choose to stay among the other poor people in the court of the temple, because she feared Herod; for the rumour of the King who was born of her had gone abroad into the land, whereat Herod was disquieted, and all Jerusalem with him. Howbeit from this bridge she could go up secretly to the Golden Gate, bring the boy Jesus unnoticed into [b] the temple, and perform all the rites appertaining to the law of purification, as indeed she did; for no one was present save those who were warned by the Holy Spirit to be present at that hour. Furthermore, whenever she came year by year to Jerusalem, she lodged in this chasm, and when she made her pilgrimage she used to pass this way, and refresh herself beside this fountain.

THE MIRACULOUS ROCK WITH THE RENT WHICH WAS TORN DURING THE LORD'S PASSION.

After having performed our duties as pilgrims at the fountain of the glorious Virgin Mary, we went on further, and circled round the Mount Sion, going towards its southern side. Upon the west side we entered the valley of Siloam, and came upon a rivulet of water, which silently runs towards the valley of Jehoshaphat, as Isaiah says (ch. viii.), 'the waters of Shiloah that go softly.' We went up along this stream, which runs down by the side of Mount Sion, and came to the place where a high rock, as it were a foot of Mount Sion, rises out of the stream, which rock has a great rent reaching from the top to the bottom,

so that a man can without squeezing enter that rent in the rock. Now, it is said that this rent was made at the time of the Lord's passion, as we read in Matt. xxvii. 51, 'and the rocks rent.' So we leaped over the stream, and entered into the rent, until we dared not go any further in because of the darkness.

THE BATHING-POOL OF SILOAM, WHEREIN THE BLIND
MAN BATHED AND RECEIVED HIS SIGHT.

When we came out of the rent in the rock, we leaped back over the stream of Siloam, and went on up stream to the bathing-pool of Siloam, to which pool Jesus sent Celidonus (*sic*), who had been blind from his birth, to wash. He washed and received his sight, as we read in John ix. This bathing-pool was nothing more than a kind of pond formed below the fountain of Siloam, wherein the water which flowed from the fountain collected together, embanked round about with stones and earth, just as they make fishponds in our country. In this bathing-pool there is now no water, because the stream does not flow into it, but runs down by the side of it. A certain Saracen has at the present day planted a garden of potherds within the walls of the bathing-pool, and some trees have grown in it. Notwithstanding this, we entered the place on account of the miracle wrought therein by Christ in the days of old, said our prayers, and received indulgences (†). In a certain book of pilgrimage I have read that it was in this pool that Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah, was bathing when David saw her over against his house, lusted after her, and took her; but this I cannot understand, because there could not be any view of the fountain of Siloam from Mount Sion, and in the text (2 Sam. xi. 2) it is said that the woman was washing herself in her upper chamber over against the king's house.

THE SOURCE FROM WHENCE THE FOUNTAIN OF SILEAM
FLOWS FORTH, BENEATH MOUNT SION. [160 *a*]

When we came out of the bathing-pool, we followed the channel of the stream, and came to the fountain of Siloam, where it runs out from the Mount Sion. Now, as we came up thither, walking up stream along the side of the brook, we wondered at the foul and loathsome colour of the water ; but when we came to the fountain, we discovered the cause of the dirty colour : for a Saracen, who was a tanner,¹ stood at the mouth of the cleft from whence the water gushes forth, and was soaking, pounding with his feet hides and skins lately stripped from beasts, so that the water was rendered foul and bloody, wherfore no one could drink or wash his face below where the tanner was. After we had come to the tanner, we entered into a cleft in the mount, which is deep and high, but not wide, and from whence water flows from the innermost parts of the earth, and there, being above where the tanner was, we drank and washed our eyes, in memory of the miracle wrought in this water upon the man who was born blind (John xx.). The common people say that whosoever washes his eyes in water from this fount will never afterwards suffer pain in his eyes. I place as much faith in this story as I do in the saying that whosoever bathes in Jordan will never grow old. So here we stood exceeding closely crowded together in this rent in the rock, this opening in the earth, and there was much noise among the pilgrims ; those in front cried out against the impatience of those behind, and those who were last cried out at the slowness of those who were in front, and those who were in the middle cried out

¹ Tobler, in his note to Theoderich, ch. xix., quotes Bernard le Tresorier, ch. xvi. (Guizot's Collection de Mémoires pour l'histoire de France), 'De cele euë tanoit l'on les cuirs de la cité.'

because they were squeezed by both the others ; and there was much impatience there, because we could not enter into the cleft save by straddling our legs, and walking along with one foot on one side of the water, and the other on the other side, for we were all shod with costly shoes, which would have been spoiled by being wetted : howbeit, many were pushed bodily down into the stream itself. So we hurriedly made our way out of the cleft, out of the mouth of the cave, and brought out the holy water in basins and bottles for those who could not go into the cleft ; for, by reason of the aforesaid crowding and pushing, our companions, the pilgrim ladies, did not go in, but sat quietly and peaceably saying their prayers outside, and we brought water to them (††). When we were all outside together, we read the appointed prayers, and received plenary indulgences (††).

A DESCRIPTION OF THE FOUNTAIN AND WATER OF SILOAM.

From what hath been afore said, the description of the place will be in some sort understood ; yet furthermore it should be noted that this flowing water fulfils the signs of a standing miracle, in that it flows not continually, but leaves off for three, [b] or it may be four, days in a week, and pours out sometimes less water, sometimes none at all, sometimes an abundant flood. I have myself beheld the cleft sometimes dry, sometimes running with a scanty rill of water, sometimes so full of water that none could enter it. I had a curious eye for this water, and oftentimes have come down thither alone before sunrise to see what was passing ; for this unequal flow is not according to nature, but came to pass by a miracle in the days of the prophet Isaiah. When Hezekiah, the King of Jerusalem, heard that the host of the Assyrians was coming to encamp

against the holy city, he stopped up the fountains and filled up the cisterns round about Jerusalem with earth and stones, to the end that the enemy when they came might find no water, and so be forced to go away through thirst, 2 Chron. xxxii. Now, in front of the fountain of Siloam he made as it were a pond, wherein the water gathered, for the use of the people of the city, who could go down thither from the city and carry the water up again; but the enemy also could come to the place, and take water from thence. Wherefore the holy Isaiah prayed to the Lord, and the Lord granted his prayer, so that whosoever the people came down from the city, they found water enough; but when the enemy came, the fountain dried, and they were not able to find any water. Wherefore, in memory of so great a miracle, it flows not continually, but at certain times. This miracle is mentioned by Josephus and by the writer of the *Speculum Historiale*.

Close beside this fountain the prophet Isaiah was buried by the people after he had been slain by King Manasses. Now, when Jerusalem was built by Nehemiah, after its destruction by King Nebuchadnezzar, the lord of the county of Mizpah built the gate of the fountain high up in the city, through which the people went out and came down to draw water, and built the wall of the pool of Siloam, which had fallen down, as we are told in the third chapter of the Book of Nehemiah. These walls were cast down by the Romans in their siege of Jerusalem, even as every other thing was cast down; but the Christians who came after them built them up again, and devout men built themselves dwellings round about them, and built a sort of monastery above the fountain, as may be seen at this day, for in front of the fountain there is a pool like a bath, and it is set about with walls and

vaults like the passages round a cloister, and the arches of the roofs rest upon marble columns. This building is partly in ruins, and the remainder threatens to fall into ruin also. It would be an easy task to restore the ruins of this holy fountain, but no one touches them or puts forth his hand to them, and so the place grows day by day more ruinous, even as do the buildings in the other holy places. In the days of old this place was held in honour, because it was included within the king's garden, and there were steps leading up from the fountain up to the city of David on the Mount Sion (Nehem. iii.). I cannot conceive how it was done, or how it was managed, that Hezekiah, the King of Jerusalem, brought the waters of Siloam up into the city, and up such a great distance, as we are told by Nicholas de Lyra, in his commentary on the forty-eighth chapter of Ecclesiasticus, seeing that [161 *a*] from the fountain of Siloam up into the city is more than forty paces straight up, and there is no great plenty of water in the fountain, nor doth it run so vehemently as to be able to turn water-wheels, whereby perchance it might be possible to lead the water up.

THE PLACE WHERE THE PROPHET ISAIAH WAS SAWN ASUNDER, AND THE CAUSE OF HIS DEATH.

We now left the holy fountain, and climbed up the Mount Sion. On the slope thereof we came to a flat place, whereon stands a tree with thick branches and leaves. I know not of what kind the tree is, but it is like a lime-tree. Here is the place where the wicked King Manasses, who filled Jerusalem with idols and shed much innocent blood, caused the prophet Isaiah to be slain because he had reproved him for his wickedness. At that time there stood a great and lofty cedar on the spot where the aforesaid tree now stands, and when the executioners brought

the prophet to it to slay him there, the trunk of the cedar opened, Isaiah entered into the rent in the tree, and it closed up again and hid the prophet within it. Howbeit, the king was not converted even by this miracle, but ordered the tree to be cut open, dragged forth the prophet, and slew him, causing him to be cut asunder with a wooden saw. In this place we said the appointed prayers, and received indulgences (†). Afterwards we sat under the shade of that tree and rested ourselves, conversing about the holiness of the prophet who was slain there, of whom Jerome says that in his prophecies he seems rather to be weaving together a gospel than prophesying, wherefore he deserves to be called an evangelist rather than a prophet. For this cause his prophecies are read throughout the season of the Lord's advent and on the night of Christ's nativity, both at morning-prayer and in the Mass, even as though they were part of one of the Gospels. By reason of the excellence of the writings of the prophet Isaiah, St. Ambrose bade Augustine read them immediately after his conversion.

THE PLACE WHERE JUDAS HANGED HIMSELF UPON A
TREE.

When we had finished resting beneath the aforesaid tree we went on our way, and as we went one pointed to us the place where once stood the tree whereon the traitor Judas hanged himself, and offered to lead us to the place. But we scorned to visit it, nor would we move our feet one step for it—nay, we were loth to raise our eyes and look upon it, since there is no grace or indulgence, but penance, despair, and shame. Howbeit, we stood for a brief space looking towards the place, and read the verse in abuse of him: ‘The heavens shall reveal the wickedness of Judas, and the earth shall rise up against him.’

THE CAVES TO WHICH THE APOSTLES FLED WHEN THE
LORD WAS TAKEN, AND IN WHICH THEY LAY HID.

When we had finished chanting our curses over Judas we came down the slope of Mount Sion into the valley which divides Mount Sion itself from Mount Gihon, which valley is narrow, and joins the valley of Siloam [b] in the midst thereof. We crossed this narrow valley and came to the foot of Mount Aceldama on the opposite side, which mount stands on an elbow of Mount Gihon towards the north, even as Mount Calvary is on an elbow of Mount Sion towards the north. Natheless, I believe that that part which now is called Mount Aceldama, because of the field, was all of it in old times called Mount Gihon—that is to say, both the mount and the elbow of the mount, as hath come to pass with the Mount Sion and Mount Calvary aforesaid, and with Mount Sinai and Mount Horeb, for there the lower part is called Mount Sinai and the upper part Mount Horeb, as also with the Mount of Olives, whereof the lower part towards the south is called the Mount of Offence and the upper part is called the Mount of Olives. Even so this mount from the valley up to the field is called Mount Aceldama, and from the field upwards is called Mount Gihon. So we went up the Mount Aceldama, up a steep hill, dragging ourselves up cliffs and rocks, and we came to orchards of figs, pomegranates, and other fruit-trees. In these orchards there were many rocks rising high into the air, and walls of rock, wherein were hewn caves, single, double, triple, and quadruple, whereof I have spoken on page 125 a. The ancients hollowed out these stony rocks for burial-places, as I have said on page 157 a, and afterwards, in the days of the Christians, men, out of love for the Holy Land, chose these caverns for dwelling-places, being unwilling to dwell anywhere save in

sepulchres, that therein they might cheerfully await death. Whenever one of the saints of old could obtain for himself such a dwelling as this in the Holy Land, he thought that he had found a treasure. To these caverns the Apostles fled when they forsook the Lord in the garden, when He was carried away bound to be brought before the highpriests. They could not bear to forsake so sweet a Master, yet they could not follow him, nor was there any better place for them to abide in than a darksome cavern—nay, in these caves themselves they strove to make their way further in, as far, if possible, as the innermost bowels of the earth, that there, at least, they might find a place wherein to groan, weep, shriek, and howl aloud, for when standing at the mouths of these caverns they dared not utter loud moans and cries, lest they should be heard, but as far as they could they restrained their cries together with their sorrow within their own breasts. And, indeed, their breasts were so filled with grief, their throats, faces, and heads so swelled with woe, that they filled up their mouths with their clothes, lest their groans should burst forth and be heard at a distance. So in this holy place we walked in pitiful mood from one cavern to another, and scattered ourselves about among these caves, showing our respect for the places of the sorrow of the Apostles. As we stood within the caves one pilgrim would address another thus : ‘Lo, my brother, in this cavern perchance [162a] sat the beloved Apostle Andrew, lamenting the misfortune of his Master.’ Another sitting opposite him would say, ‘And here sate the Apostle Bartholomew, grieving that he forsook so sweet a Master.’ Again, in another cave, one would say, ‘Here is a seat whereon it may be Thomas sat in doubt and sorrow.’ From another cavern another pilgrim would cry out, ‘Lo, here in this darksome cave are two places where I believe two Apostles, Simon and Judas,

sat together.' Thus they strove one with another in devout jest, each one assigning a place to the Apostle whom he loved best. In this same orchard we entered one curious cave, exceeding like the Lord's sepulchre as it was in its original state. We said our prayers near these places, and received indulgences (†).

THE HOLY FIELD OF ACELDAMA, WHICH WAS BOUGHT
WITH THE PRICE OF THE BLOOD OF THE LORD
JESUS CHRIST.

When we had viewed the hiding-places of the Apostles we went further up Mount Aceldama, up a steep rocky slope, a hard and stony path, in climbing up which some tenderly nurtured and luxurious knights became impatient, and murmured at the labour of our journey. We were, indeed, scorched by a most blazingly hot sun ; nathless, we went upwards, and came to the holy field of Aceldama. About this field we are told in Matt. xxvi. that, before the Passion, it was called the Potter's Field, because it was owned by some potter. The Jews bought this field for those thirty pieces (of silver) which they gave to Judas for the Lord Jesus, that they might bury strangers therein, whose bodies had aforetime been cast forth unburied. Wherefore in this holy field we fell upon our faces, read the appointed prayers, and received plenary indulgences (††). When we had accomplished this, we sat down to rest and to view the place ; and while we were sitting thus, a young Saracen came up to us carrying a basket full of grapes, some of which we bought, and so sat and ate them there in the field, and enjoyed ourselves well.

THE POSITION OF THE FIELD ACELDAMA.

This field Aceldama lies on the slope of Mount Gihon, opposite to Mount Sion, on the south side thereof. On

the field itself stands a building with four walls, like a low, square tower, covered by a vault resting on the side-walls. This vault has nine round openings in its upper part, through which the bodies of the dead are thrown. Now, since it stands upon the slope of the mount, on the upper side, where one [b] comes down the mount towards the building, one can walk on to the vault without climbing. The vaulted roof of this building measures fifty feet in width and seventy-two in length ; from the openings down to the ground at the bottom is twenty-six feet. There is no way into this chamber save through these openings, and no one can enter it through them unless he be let down with ropes. It is a dwelling for the dead alone, and I believe that since the hour when it was finished no living man has entered this chamber, but he that hath once entered it will never come forth again until the day of judgment. I lay down upon my belly and put my head inside, and saw therein five fresh human corpses among dry bones. Above the vault there is now no building, but grass grows thereon, and in some places covers over the openings, so that they who walk thereon carelessly slip one of their feet into them. That holy woman Helena built a church upon this spot, which she caused to be dedicated to All Saints, up to which the monks who dwelt in the hiding-places of the Apostles were wont to go and celebrate divine service. Afterwards, when those monks were gone, brethren of the Order of Preaching Friars dwelt there, and had a convent there, for at the time when Robert, King of Sicily, as aforesaid, bought the Mount Sion and other places for the Minorites from the Soldan for much gold, the preaching friars called for the aid of pious men, and having collected together some money, bought the field Aceldama, that they might build a convent thereon, in the year of our Lord 1350, in which year Ludolphus, the parish priest of

Suchem, was in the Holy Land, and wrote this in his book of his pilgrimage. When they had received the place they held it for a time, but were at length forced to forsake the place owing to the attacks of the Moors and the robbery which they suffered from the infidels. With regard to this, the Minorite brethren are well provided for on Mount Sion, having a quiet place within the city, well fortified with high walls and iron doors, as hath been said on page 97 *a*. Yet, notwithstanding these, they are exceeding often in great perils from the constant attacks of the infidels, even in the night-time. Were they not brave men, they would long ago have forsaken the Mount Sion, because of their peril from the assaults of those hounds. So it was not possible for the preaching friars to remain in an unfortified place without the city, notwithstanding their having bought it from the Soldan, and having been admitted to it by him, for the infidels care nothing for this. So when the brethren were driven out of the place the Saracens cast down the church and other buildings, uprooting their very foundations, all save the sepulchral building, which is standing at the present day.

After the preaching friars some Greek monks, called Caloyers, dwelt there, but were forced by the same necessity to forsake the place, and that not many years ago, for I found in the caves and hiding-places marks which proved that a short time before men had dwelt therein. I very often used to come down to this place from Mount Sion and read my hours on the holy field, and I desired exceedingly that, if it were possible, [163 *a*] I might end my days there among the brethren and be buried there. Wherefore I chose this place for my sepulchre, and begged the brethren of Mount Sion, if I happened to die in Jerusalem, to bury me in no other place save in that holy field, and to cast in my body through those holes. I can say of a truth

that, other conditions being equal, I had rather have a convent there than upon Mount Sion, for there the brethren could plant gardens, vineyards, and fig-orchards, and the place is pleasant, looking as it does towards Mount Sion and the valley of Siloam, and it could get its water from the fountain of Siloam, which is hard by. There is also a view of the valley of Jchoshaphat, the Mount of Olives, etc.

Of this field they relate for a truth that the bodies of the dead when placed in it are straightway reduced to dust within three days and the dry bones alone left. So they say of the holy field which is at Rome, beside the church of St. Peter, to which earth was carried from hence over the sea and strewn over that field. So likewise the people of Pisa, when they bore rule in Syria, took earth from this field, freighted ships therewith, carried it to Pisa, and made a most costly burial-place therewith for the great men of their land. In these three cemeteries bodies are dissolved within three days, whereas in other cemeteries they are hardly altogether consumed in eighteen years.

Now, as for the thirty pieces of money, I have read a long rambling story which says that Terah, the father of Abraham, struck them at the bidding of King Ninus, with others of the same mintage; and that Abraham received them and brought them into this land, and that from him they were handed down to Ishmael by inheritance, all together, and that they never were divided from one another. They were paid by the Ishmaclites to the children of Jacob for their brother Joseph, whom they sold to them, and the brethren carried them down into Egypt to buy corn with. From Egypt they were carried into Sheba, as the price of merchandise. The Queen of Sheba gave them to Solomon among other presents, and he cast them into the treasury of the Lord's temple. Nebuchadnezzar carried them off together with the other

treasures of the temple, and made a present of them to Godolia (*sic*), by whom they were sent to the kingdom of Nubia. When the Lord was born in Bethlehem, Melchior, the King of Nubia, offered them to the Lord, and the blessed Virgin and Joseph lost them in the desert when they were fleeing with the child. A shepherd found them, and kept them for thirty years. This shepherd, hearing the fame of the miracles of the Lord Jesus, came to Jerusalem sick; and, having received health from Him, offered the thirty pieces to Jesus. Since He would not receive them, he gave them to the priests of the temple, who set them aside as *corban*. When the Lord had been betrayed, they handed them over to Judas, who, moved by remorse, flung them down in the temple. The priests picked them up, and bought this field for them, and thus they became scattered separately throughout the world. I have seen one of them in Rhodes, and Johannes Tucher, of Nuremberg, [b] took a cast of it, had a leaden mould made, and cast silver coins in its likeness, which he distributed among his friends; indeed, when we were all gathered together in Nuremberg in the year 1485, to celebrate the meeting of the chapter of the province, the aforesaid man gave one of his pieces of silver to a certain brother of our order. It is about as large as those of the coins called *blaffardi*,¹ which are marked with a cross; on one side there is a human face, on the other a lily. There once was an inscription, but it cannot now be seen. So much for Mount Aceldama.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MOUNT GIHON, AND OF THE HOUSE OF EVIL COUNSEL.

Leaving the field of Aceldama, we climbed up Mount Gihon with great labour. On the top of it are the ruins of

¹ *Blaffardus* was a coin of base metal. See Ducange, *s.v.* For an account of the legend of the thirty pieces of silver, see *Quarterly Review*, October, 1846, Art. ‘Cologne Cathedral.’

great walls, among which ruins are some Saracen dwelling-houses. In the time of King David there was a strong castle on that hill, which belonged to the king, and was directly opposite to the house of David, which was on the topmost point of Mount Sion, where nowadays stands the convent of the brethren, and both there and elsewhere he had courts of his house looking one towards the other, and some of his household in each. Now, David, as we read in I Kings i., ordered Solomon to be mounted on the king's mule, and led to Gihon, whither the whole force of the host followed him; and they anointed him king over Israel, and blew trumpets and cried aloud, 'Long live the king!' Josephus tells us that when David heard this he sank down again upon his couch, and worshipped God; for, indeed, the sound of one blowing a trumpet or shouting on Gihon can be heard on Sion. But Adonijah, and Joab, and the rest, who were feasting as they sat beside the fount of Rogel, beside the stone of Zoheleth, intending Adonijah to be king—these men heard the sound of the trumpets on Gihon, and were sore afraid when they learned the truth, and rose and went every man his way; for they were at the foot of Gihon, in a shady valley below the valley of Jehoshaphat and the valley of Siloam, where were gardens, even as there are at the present day, and water, even as at the present day there is a fountain there; and a certain great stone, which young men used to lift to prove their strength, which stone was called Zoheleth, and there was a pleasant place wherein Adonijah had made ready his feast. But when they heard the shouting in the mount above them, 'Long live the king!' their council was broken up, as aforesaid.

The house of Gihon in the time of Christ was the house of the high priests and the other priests, and when they wished to treat of anything especially secret, they passed

over to it, and it was the house of their secret councils. Herein the chief priests and Pharisees assembled a council, saying, ‘What shall we do? for this man . . .’ as we read in St. John’s Gospel. So on this spot Christ’s death was decided upon. It is believed that it was in this house that the Jews decided to fight against the Romans, Titus and Vespasian, in consequence of which Jerusalem was destroyed. It may be that the Apostles were scourged in this house, as we read in Acts v., which scourging took place in the presence of the consuls alone, because they feared the people, as we are told in the same place. And whenever any matter needed discussion, in which they feared the people, they used to pass over to this house, [164 a] that they might be apart from mankind, and nevertheless might be in a strong place. Wherefore this house received the name of ‘the house of evil counsel,’ and this name it has kept even unto this day. When we had seen this house, we did not descend into the valley, but went along the ridge of Mount Gihon to the road which leads to Bethlehem, which we crossed in an easterly direction, went round the valley which lies between the mounts Sion and Gihon, and came to the Fuller’s Field, where Rabshakeh stood and blasphemed the Lord God of Israel, as we read in Isaiah xxxvi. It was called the Fuller’s Field, because the fullers used to dry their cloths therein. So we went back into Jerusalem by the road of the Fuller’s Field, and the pilgrims who lodged in the hospital passed into the city through the Fish Gate; but we entered near the citadel of David, and reached our own place, passing along the ridge of the Mount Sion.

Here endeth the pilgrimage throughout the city of Jerusalem.

HOW THE PILGRIMS SET OUT ON THEIR WAY TO
BETHLEHEM, THE CITY OF DAVID.

On the evening before the sixteenth of July our guides came on horseback to Mount Sion, and our drivers with their asses, to lead us to Bethlehem. So when we were all provided with asses we went down from Mount Sion, on the southern side, crossed the valley between the pools, and climbed the Mount Gihon by the royal road, along which went the three kings who were sent by Herod to seek the Child born in Bethlehem. This is a very holy and pleasant road from Jerusalem, along which we read that the holy patriarchs, fathers, and prophets have walked; for instance, Abraham, when he came from Chaldæa with his wife Sara; Lot, with his wife when he came from the parts beyond the mountains; Jacob, and all the holy men, David, Elias, and Isaiah, all of whom we read walked along this way. So we ascended Mount Gihon with joy, and on the top of it came among the dry stone walls of delightful gardens, wherein grow divers sorts of precious fruit-trees and vines and figs, for they of Jerusalem have their gardens there. When we had passed through the gardens we came to some old ruined walls, where the inn is said to have stood, in which the three kings lodged when they were on their way to Bethlehem with their gifts. From hence we went on, and came to a stony place, where they say that the blessed Virgin sat down to recover her breath when pregnant, and we were shown the place where she sat. So in this [b] place we dismounted from our asses, and showed respect to the place with feelings of wonder and delight—which, indeed, we felt throughout the whole journey—while we also pitied the tender and pregnant maiden for her long journey

from Nazareth to Bethlehem, which is more than ten German miles.

* * * * *

(Here follows a dialogue between a pilgrim and St. Joseph, in which the latter assures him that it was for his sake that they rested here, not for the Virgin's, as she was incapable of feeling fatigue.)

THE PLACE WHERE THE MAGI SAW THE STAR WHICH
THEY HAD SEEN IN THE EAST.

When this dialogue was finished we remounted our asses, and went onward. When half-way we came to three cisterns, which is the place where the star which they had seen in the East appeared a second time to the Magi, whereat they rejoiced exceedingly, as we read in the second chapter of St. Matthew. These three cisterns are said to [165 a] have been dug in the places where the three kings stood looking at the star, which had disappeared when they entered into Jerusalem. At this place we rejoiced together with the three Magi, reading and singing that which is appointed in the processional.

THE PLACE WHERE THE PROPHET ELIJAH WAS BORN.

Leaving this place, we came to a church of the Georgians, which is said to stand on the spot where the prophet Elijah was born. We entered it, and worshipped God, and received indulgences for seven years (†), and honoured the prophet Elijah. But here a doubt arises as to how Elijah can have been born here, seeing that his surname denotes that he was born at Thebes, since in 1 Kings xvii. he is called the Thesbite. For there are three Thebes—one in Syria, in the province of Galilee, wherein was the high tower from which a woman flung a piece of a mill-stone, and brake the skull of Abimelech, who was striving to undermine the tower, who, when he felt that he was

dying, bade them smite him with the sword, lest it should be said that a woman slew him (*Judges ix.*). The second Thebes is in Egypt, and from it a whole province is named the Thebaid. This was once a great and rich city, as we read in the legend of St. Maurice about the Theban legion. Some say that this place is Cairo, or New Babylon, as shall be told in its place. The third is in Greece. Elijah the prophet came from the first, and obtained his name from it. Howbeit, to save the truth of my story, it may be said that possibly the same thing befell Elias, which befell Christ our Lord, who was conceived at Nazareth, and born at Bethlehem, and yet is called Jesus of Nazareth, not of Bethlehem. So Elijah, who was conceived in Thebes, and born in the hippodrome, yet is called Elijah the Thesbite, not Hyppodrontes. I have, however, read somewhere that once a farmhouse stood here, which also was called Thebes. Worthy indeed is the birthplace of so great a prophet to be reckoned among the holy places, for he was born three thousand years ago, and is not yet dead, but shall come before the Judge, and restore all things, as we read in *Malachi iv.* and *Matthew xvii.*

THE FIELD OF THE PROPHET HABAKKUK.

Leaving that place, we went on, and came to the field of Habakkuk. Of this prophet we read in *Daniel xiv.*¹ that he cooked a mess of pulse, and when he had cooked was carrying it to this field to the reapers; but the angel of the Lord caught him by the top of his head, and bore him away by the hair of his head, and by the power of his breath set him down in Babylon, in the place of lions, and he gave Daniel his dinner. Wherefore we stood still

¹ See T. Wright's note to 'Sir John Maundeville,' in 'Early Travels in Palestine' (Bohn's 'Antiquarian Library'), p. 149.

for awhile in this field, and marvelled at the goodness of Divine providence, which is wont to succour its servant in wondrous wise. Wherefore saith Gregory on this subject : ‘ Daniel, who took no thought about food and drink, and who through his angelic truth lived by faith in the den of lions, among the ravening mouths of monstrous wild beasts, was not deserted by the Lord, but his dinner was brought to him in a moment [b] of time from Judæa to Babylon by the hands of a prophet at the Lord’s bidding.’ By this example we most distinctly learn that the servants of God who live here on earth according to the precepts of the Gospel can never want, as saith the prophet : ‘ I have been young, and now am old, yet never saw I the righteous forsaken.’ Again, ‘ God will not slay the life of the just with hunger,’ and ‘ He shall give meat unto them that fear Him.’ So we nowhere read that God allowed His elect to perish with hunger, for when martyrs were imprisoned to the end that they might starve to death, He sent angels to bring them food from heaven, as we read in many places. He fed the prophets by means of ravens, and miraculously refreshed those holy fathers the hermits. Moreover, we read of our own sweetest father, St. Dominic, that twice, when the brethren were in need of bread, bread was sent to them by God through the angels. And even if He doth not send corporeal and visible bread, yet He sustains His elect by invisible power, as we read in the ‘ Life of St. Catherine of Siena.’ We are permitted to behold this same thing at the present day with our own eyes, for I know that a hermit named Nicholas, who dwells in a mountainous solitude above the Lake of Lucerne, has lived for the last twenty years without food or drink, which is wondrous to hear. I saw this man in the year 1475.

In the aforesaid field of Habakkuk are found round white

pebbles, just like white peas.¹ About these they who showed us the field told us a childish story, which, nevertheless, I mean to recount, as I have other childish things. They said that one day the Lord Jesus was passing this way, and a countryman was sowing peas. The Lord asked him what he was sowing. The husbandman replied mockingly: ‘I am sowing stones.’ The Lord said in answer to this: ‘Be it then even as thou sayest.’ And straightway all the peas were turned into stones, but kept their former colour and shape. We gathered some of these pebbles for our own amusement. When on that spot I bethought me of a field near Gislingen, in which countless pebbles of the same form are found, and the children there are told the same story about them. Near this field is a cistern, which a certain pilgrim guesses to have been the cistern of Joseph, into which he was put by his brethren (*Genesis xxxvii.*); but this does not agree well with the Scriptures, which say that that cistern was in the wilderness, and here there is no place named Sichem or Dothaim. So we left the place more hurriedly than we otherwise should have done, yet nevertheless we pitied the blessed Joseph, and reflected on how great an evil envy is, seeing that it cannot love anyone who prospers, though he be his own brother. Wherefore Socrates well says: ‘Good fortune is ever subject to envy; misery alone is unenvied.’ As we went on beyond the field and the cistern there is a high ancient wall, which projects into the road, and there they say was the house of the patriarch Jacob, wherein he dwelt for some time; and they say that this wall is part of the ruins of the

¹ ‘The stones called “Elijah’s melons,” on Mount Carmel, and “the Virgin Mary’s peas,” near Bethlehem, are instances of crystallization well known in limestone formations, etc.’—Stanley’s ‘*Sinai and Palestine*,’ chap. ii., sect. 4, and note.

patriarch's house. Howbeit, I once when passing this way climbed up this wall, and discovered beyond doubt that it was built to support the watercourse, along which water once ran down into Jerusalem. Moreover, if this was Jacob's house, what need was there for Rachel his wife to bear her child on the road close to the house?

THE SEPULCHRE OF RACHEL, WHICH THE PATRIARCH
JACOB BUILT FOR HER.

[166 a] Proceeding farther, we came to a place which Jerome in his book 'On the Distances of Places' calls Chabrata, where there is the sepulchre of Rachel, the wife of Jacob, who, being here on the highroad, wishing to go to Bethlehem with Jacob, travailed, and bore Benjamin, and died through the hardness of her labour; and here stands the pillar of Rachel's grave to this day, as we read in the thirty-seventh chapter of Genesis (Gen. xxxv. 19, 20). The Jews say that the reason why Jacob did not take his dearly-beloved wife Rachel to Hebron, to the sepulchre of his fathers, but buried her in the public way, was that by the spirit of prophecy he was aware of what should thereafter come to pass; for after Nebuchadnezzar had destroyed the city and burned the temple, and was leading away the people of God captive into Persia along this road, as he was passing by this sepulchre, Rachel, by a Divine miracle, uplifted her voice from out of the sepulchre, addressing the enemy and invoking the Divine mercy, as we read in the thirty-first chapter of Jeremiah, 'In Rama was a voice heard,' etc. Howbeit, Catholic doctors expound the weeping of Rachel as being for the murder of the Innocents (Matthew i.). Rachel, according to Jerome, is called the mother of the children of Bethlehem, and of that country—albeit, they were the children of Leah—because Rachel had her own tomb there, with a

pillar solemnly set up over it. This pillar is a lofty pyramid, built of squared and polished white stone, and shaped like the new chapel which stands in the midst of the new cemetery of ‘All Saints’ at Ulm, save that the sepulchre of Rachel is all built of stone, and has not a particle of wood in it. Over against this tomb Jacob set up twelve stones, according to the number of his twelve sons. By the side of this chapel the Saracens have made a trough to put drinking water in. We read of this sepulchre in the first Book of Samuel, where we are told that Samuel proved Saul to be king by the sign that by Rachel’s sepulchre he found two men leaping great ditches. This place is venerated alike by Saracens, Jews, and Christians. We said our prayers there, received indulgences (†), and going on our way came to a place which now is barren, but which once was delightful, for it was there that Solomon planted one of his gardens. These gardens are described on page 249, *a*, *b*. Here we saw Bethlehem, and greeted it.

We stood on the site of the aforementioned garden, and there we first beheld from afar, about half a German mile away, Bethlehem, the city of David and of Christ; the church of the blessed Virgin, wherein is the place of the Nativity, rose above everything else that we could see. When we beheld this gracious city, we straightway dismounted from our asses, and right joyfully saluted the city with heartfelt prayers such as these: ‘Hail, Ephrata! thou most fertile region, whose fruit is God. Hail, Bethlehem! the house of bread, wherin is hidden that bread which fell from heaven. Of thee Micah once prophesied that thou shouldst not be the least among the princes—nay, the greatest—for from thee came forth He that shall rule the world.¹ In thee was born from a virgin mother

* Matt. ii. 6; Micah v. 2.

that Prince who, before the time of Lucifer, was begotten by God the Father ; in thee the seed of David abided until the virgin bore a Child. O Bethlehem, I know not with what praises I can extol thee, for thou didst contain within a poor hovel Him whom the heavens could not contain. Hail, Bethlehem ! that art made admirable both to the East and to the West ; for as the wisdom of the Magians once came to thee from the East, so now the devotion of pilgrims cometh to thee from the West.'

When we had finished our greeting we remounted our asses, and with great joy and swiftness hastened on our way to Bethlehem. Some wept for joy and piety ; some, in their mirth, sang [b] the well-known Christmas hymns :

Puer natus in Bethlehem, unde gaudet Jerusalem,' and 'Resonet in laudibus, cum jucundis plausibus,' and 'In dulci Jubilo nu singent und sind fro,' etc. ; and we all sang in chorus the angels' hymn, 'Gloria in excelsis Deo,' etc. Our guides, the Moorish Saracen lords, though they were not affected by our mirth, yet listened in silence, and seemed to me to be more cheerful than they were wont to be. I never saw pilgrims so merry as on that road. I myself have traversed it six times, and always with an unspeakable feeling of joy. Now, between us and Bethlehem there lay a deep and great valley, separating us from it ; howbeit, it was not needful for us to go down into the valley, but we were fain to circle round the head of the valley, and walk along the edge thereof as far as Bethlehem on a high ridge of hills, on a spur of which the blessed city stands aloft. In the very midst of the valley we saw the place where the Saviour's birth was announced to the shepherds. The legends of the Three Kings tell us that when the three Magi with their hosts were crossing the valley at this place that they might enter into Bethlehem, the shepherds who then were in the valley

seeing the unwonted star, and the host which followed them, hurriedly climbed up the hill to see who they might be, and whither they were going. When they understood that they were seeking the new-born Babe, they began to tell them all that had befallen them on the night when the Child was born, and how they had been taught by a messenger from heaven that this Child should be the Saviour of the world. When the Magi heard this they rejoiced more abundantly, because they had found other witnesses besides the star, and, opening their purses, gave precious gifts to the poor shepherds for their good news. We therefore halted in this place, and praised God for His marvellous acts, and wished joy to those devout kings. And so with much mirth we went on our way.

THE TROUBLES WHICH THE PILGRIMS SUFFERED AT
THE HANDS OF ARABS OR MIDIANITES BEFORE
THEY ENTERED INTO BETHLEHEM.

In this world no joy, not even spiritual joy, can be unalloyed, and even if it seems pure and unmixed at the time, yet straightway it becomes overcast by some untoward event. This we proved to be true on this journey, for we set out from Jerusalem with cheerfulness, and the nearer we came to Bethlehem the more joyous we became, as hath been shown above; howbeit, by the dispensation of God our mirth was cut short in a sufficiently frightful fashion. As we drew near to the holy city, lo! a host of Arabs came towards us, coming forth from Bethlehem, at whose aspect our guides were confounded and terrified, and we too were alarmed; nevertheless, we pilgrims crowded together in one body, and sent on our Saracen guides and the captains of our galleys in front of us; [167 a] and so, with our company thus disposed, we went on our way, full of fear, to meet the

robbers who were moving against us, for neither the place nor the time admitted of running away, and had we done so we should have offered our backs to those plunderers. When we came up to them, and our leaders would have gone further on, they withheld them, and took possession of the road, so that no man could pass by ; and there we stood for more than an hour, because our guides and the captains were making terms with them, and they wrangled much and noisily with them, yet no man did another any manner of hurt : for Easterns do not proceed straightway to personal violence unless they are driven to repel force by force, and these Arabs were not unfriendly to us, but were only extorting money from us, which they say is their lawful right, as we shall often see hereafter. Had we forcibly marched on against their will, they would, indeed, have let us go, seeing that we were more in number than they ; but they in the meanwhile would have called together all their companions, and would have besieged us in Bethlehem, and brought us into the direst straits ; perhaps they would have been glad if we had burst through them by force, as they would then have had greater cause of complaint against us, and we could have done nothing against them, although we were more in number, because they were armed with spears, swords, and bows, while we were unarmed, all save our guides, who did indeed carry arms. After much talk it was settled that if we wanted to enter Bethlehem we must pay twenty-four ducats ; if not, we might return to Jerusalem. So we opened our purses, and all paid money, each man his own share, and went on our way, while our plunderers remained on the spot, dividing the spoil amongst them. Now, when we were a good way off them, there burst forth from the city another host of Arabs, who were their accomplices, who charged into the column of the pilgrims, and with much

jeering and shouting passed through the midst of us, dragging and pushing us about, throwing the pilgrims' caps off their heads, and discomposing us much with their rough jokes. In this disturbance the following adventure befell me: As I was riding on my ass among the rest, an Arab on a horse rode against me, wishing to make his way in among us, as the rest of his comrades had done, and in order that the pilgrims should make way for him to pass through, and leave a road open to him, he couched his spear, and pointed it straight in my face; but because of the press I was not able to make way for him, nor yet to fall off my ass, which I would willingly have done, wherefore I was forced with much terror and alarm to await his shock as he rode at me. As he came he tore my cap off my head with a strong blow of the sharp steel, and passed me by with a laugh. I was glad because I was unhurt, and sorrowfully dismounted from my ass to look for my cap in the confusion; howbeit, a certain pilgrim had picked it up, and gave it to me. I was well contented that the Arab knew so well the art of touching things just as he pleased with the point of his spear, for had he held it pointed the thickness of one finger lower [*b*], he would have run it through my skull. These men were some scoundrelly servants to those who had fined us, who were going out with joy to meet their masters, rejoicing with them at the money which they had received, and scoffing at us.

THE ENTRANCE OF THE PILGRIMS INTO BETHLEHEM,
INTO THE CHURCH OF CHRIST'S NATIVITY.

When we were near the city of Bethlehem, about a bow-shot from its gate, we came to a place where was the well of David, which is called the well of David because, as we read in 2 Samuel xxiii. 14, 15, David desired to drink thereof when he was in an hold, and the well was set about

with the enemy, notwithstanding which three mighty men of the host of David brake through the camp of the Philistines, and drew water from the well of Bethlehem, which is by the gate, and brought it to David, who would not drink thereof, but poured it out unto the Lord. This well is a large deep and wide grotto, having on its upper side three mouths or openings apart from one another, through which water is drawn from the pool, and it contains plenty of clear, wholesome, cool water, some of which we drew out and drank. Howbeit, the common people and the dwellers in Bethlehem now look with disgust upon this water, because a few days before our visit a Saracen woman, trying to draw water, and doing so carelessly, fell through the mouth of the well, and was drawn out dead. From that well we came to the side of the blessed city of Bethlehem, but did not enter it, passed along by the side of it towards the east, through the ruins of many walls, and entered the courtyard of the church of the blessed Virgin, where we gave up our asses to their drivers, entered the holy church, and, falling upon our faces, received plenary indulgences (††). When we rose from our prayers we were greatly astonished and filled with admiration at the size and beauty of the church. Here in the church we found the same traders who had been with us in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, who offered us candles for sale, and we bought candles of them, for it was already dark within doors, and the sun was setting.

THE VISIT TO THE HOLY PLACES, AND FIRST TO THE STUDY OF ST. JEROME, AND THE STORY OF HIS SEPULCHRE.

The brethren arranged our procession in the manner described on pages 94 *d* and 110 *b*, for we brought out all our ornaments and furniture with us on the back of an

ass from Sion to Bethlehem ; and when every man was standing in his place, all alike bearing lighted candles in their hands, the precentor began the hymn of a confessor, '*Iste confessor Domini*,' etc. Singing this hymn, we went out of the church into the cloister, to the left side thereof, and, passing through a door in the cloister, went [168 a] down nineteen steps into a fair vaulted chapel. In this chamber was the study of St. Jerome, wherein he underwent many hard labours. Here he translated the entire Bible from Hebrew and Chaldee into Latin, both into the classical and the vernacular tongue, as he himself bears witness in his epistle to Sophronius about a new edition, and in his epistle about Hebrew questions ; here also he wrote his prologues, epistles, glosses, and commentaries. Here he corrected, divided, and arranged the Psalter as it is used at this day by the Roman Church ; he dictated the versicle 'Glory be to the Father, and to the Son,' etc. ; he joined many disciples to himself, whom he taught ; he ever preserved his virginity ; he made a savage lion tame and gentle ; and he carried on an endless warfare against heretics, vicious clerks, and wicked monks. He was always at work, and in this cell he so wearied himself that when lying on his bed he was forced to drag himself up, holding by his hands to a rope which hung from a beam above him, and so perform the duties of a monastery as best he could. He toiled at these labours for fifty-five years and six months. In this place we prayed, and received plenary indulgences (††) with thanksgiving.

THE SEPULCHRE OF ST. JEROME, WHICH IS NOW EMPTY.

There is another chapel adjoining this one, not far from the Lord's manger, where he chose his burial-place, as we are told in the epistle of Eusebius. Here St. Jerome, while still alive, ordered his sepulchre to be made, wherein

after the death of that glorious Father of the Church was laid his body, splendid by reason of the signal miracles which it had wrought. This sepulchre is entire at the present day, but is empty, and is decorated with slabs of marble. His body was translated from Bethlehem to Constantinople, and from thence to Rome, where at the present day it rests in a costly tomb in the church of S. Maria Maggiore. So after we had said our prayers in this place we received (†) indulgences. We read in his letter to St. Cyril of Jerusalem that, out of devotion to St. Jerome, St. Augustine crossed the sea that he might behold this place. The body could not be taken out of the grave, for when it was taken out it was found in the grave again on the morrow, until Jerusalem was conquered by the infidels; then it permitted itself to be translated to Rome, as we read in the last epistle of St. Cyril.

THE SEPULCHRE OF ST. EUSEBIUS, THE DISCIPLE OF ST. JEROME.

Adjoining this is another crypt, wherein is buried St. Eusebius, the disciple of the blessed Jerome. This Eusebius, who was a native of Cremona, and was styled the disciple of St. Jerome, was a man of great eloquence, and who, amongst other works, wrote an account of the life, miracles, and death of his teacher in an elegant narrative addressed to Damasus, the Bishop of Oporto,¹ and to that singular Christian Roman senator, Theodosius. The great humility of this man is shown by his epistle written to the aforesaid bishop. We therefore prostrated ourselves before the tomb of this saint, begging for his protection, and received indulgences (†). He was warned of the approach of his own death by St. Jerome in a vision, and gave orders that he should be buried near

* Afterwards Pope Formosus.

St. Jerome. At the time when he died there died also three others, who had been raised from the dead by St. Jerome. Hence is derived a proof of the destruction of a certain heresy, as we read in the epistle of St. Cyril, the Bishop of Jerusalem, to St. Augustine, wherein much is said in praise of St. Eusebius.

THE PLACE OF THE CIRCUMCISION OF THE LORD,
WHEREIN IT IS SAID THAT HE WAS CIRCUMCISED
ON THE EIGHTH DAY, AND NAMED JESUS.

After this we went up again out of the crypt, re-entered the church, crossed through the midst of it, going to the right-hand side from the side opposite thereto. We ascended into a chapel which adjoins that same side of the choir, and there before the altar we brought out our hymns and antiphons for the Lord's circumcision, and '*Salve Regina*', the hymn to the blessed Virgin, and we bowed ourselves down, and kissed the place beneath the altar, and [b] received plenary indulgences (††). It was in this holy place that the Lord Jesus was circumcised on the eighth day, for He could not have been circumcised in the cave wherein He was born, and in which the Virgin lay after childbirth, because of the darkness, and it may be that the circumcisers disliked the smell of the stable; so they carried out the boy Jesus, and circumcised Him here. The holiness of this place is proved by the sweet smell which is shed abroad from it, for while a man stoops down to kiss the place, an unusual odour is breathed out towards him, which delights him and inclines him to worship. This place is of immeasurable holiness, seeing that here first were the fountains of the great deep burst open, and cleansing came upon the whole earth, not of water to drown it, but of blood to make it alive; for as in Noah's flood all upon whom the waters came perished, even so all

upon whom came the flood of Christ's blood were given life. In this place we pilgrims boasted that we had now been at all the places, and had kissed all the places, wherein we read that the Lord Jesus shed His most precious blood—that is to say, I., here in the circumcision, where first the fountains of the great deep—that is to say, Christ's veins—were burst open. II. In the place of Christ's agony on the Mount of Olives, page 184 *b.* III. At the place of scourging and crowning with thorns, page 138. IV. At the place where He fell while bearing the cross, page 123. V. At the place of the crucifixion, page 116. VI. At the place where His side was pierced. Moreover, this place is venerable because of the sweetest name of Jesus, because here first it was given to save the world, because there is no other name upon earth by which we may be saved but only the name of Jesus. Here was the ointment poured forth, whereof the bride speaks in Solomon's Song (i. 3), 'Thy name is as ointment poured forth.'

THE PLACE WHERE THE MAGI MADE THEMSELVES READY WITH VESTMENTS AND GIFTS.

When we had finished offering our praises in the place of the circumcision, the precentor began the hymn '*Hostis Herodes impie*', singing which we circled round to the left-hand side of the church, and again went up to the side of the choir into a chapel adjoining the choir, which chapel stands on the place where the Magi dismounted from their camels and dromedaries, before the inn above which the star stood. Here they brought out their gifts from their scrips, and arranged them ready to be offered, and decked themselves out with most precious robes, that they might appear in splendid and courtly wise before the new-born King. So in this place we kneeled and received indulgences (†). At the side of this place stands a well,

whence the servants of the Magi drew water for their beasts, and we likewise went to it and looked down into it. So here, in the company of the holy kings, we made ready to enter the inn with joy and due devotion.

THE GROTTO OF THE NATIVITY OF OUR LORD JESUS
CHRIST, THE ENTRANCE OF THE PILGRIMS THERE-
UNTO, AND THE HOLINESS OF THE PLACE.

Rejoice now, O pilgrim, and be joyful, dearly beloved brother, for straightway thou shalt behold the most holy and sweetest of places, which is worshipped and adored alike by the faithful and by infidels. I say unto you that many kings and prophets—nay, many popes, bishops and cardinals, emperors, dukes and noblemen, priests and laymen—have wished and yearned to see what you see, and have not seen it. Now, when we were standing beside the altar and well aforesaid, the precentor began to sing the merry Christmas hymn, '*Christe, redemptor omium, ex patre patris unice*', etc. We sang this hymn to the same tune to which it is sung in our order, but wherever the word 'day' occurs in the hymn we sang 'place.' Where in the hymn come the words 'This present day doth witness bear,' we sang 'This present place doth witness bear'; and where in the hymn the words are 'For this Thy natal day' we said 'For this Thy natal place,' and so on. So singing this song, we left the aforesaid place, turned towards the wall of the choir, passed through a doorway adorned with polished marble of the purest whiteness, and descended by sixteen steps beneath the choir into a crypt which was of itself dark, but which was lighted by many lamps, above which lay the stone beneath which the Saviour of the world, Jesus Christ, was born. When we had finished the proper praises appointed in the processional we went up one after another to the altar at the head of the grotto,

bowed our faces to the earth, and kissed beneath the altar the place of the most sweet nativity of Christ, in which place there lies a white marble slab, cunningly wrought into the figure of a sun, because here the Sun of righteousness arose, here the immaculate Virgin Mary shed abroad eternal light, and here, through the mystery of the Incarnate Word, the new light of her glory shone upon the eyes of our mind. So we most devoutly, and with tears of joy, bowed ourselves to the earth before that stone and worshipped it—that stone whereon we are told that the wondrous Boy lay after He had come forth from the Virgin's womb. Indeed, this is proved to be so by a clear sign—the wondrous and delightful odour which he who imprints his kisses on the stone perceives. The sweet odour which breathes forth from that place upon our senses is something Divine and above everything else. One sees the place to be quite void of any matter which could produce scent, and yet the place smells as though it were a storehouse of perfume, save that its intensity is greater than that of the strongest pigment. Nor do I say this with reference to its mystical meaning, but in plain fact I declare that I perceived it every time that I bowed myself down to kiss the holy stone ; neither is this perception confined to any particular person, but this grace is bestowed upon all who kiss the place, even to the unhappy Saracens themselves, so that they may know for certain that Mahomet lied when he said in his abominable Alcoran that the holy nativity came to pass in a lonely spot, in a garden, beneath a palm tree, as we are told by Master Nicholas of Cusa in his translation of the Alcoran, Book III., ch. xvii. Not only these places, but all the places wherein we read that the Lord Jesus appeared naked, enjoy this privilege of exhaling a sweet odour. Nor need anyone wonder at this, since we read that the same thing takes place from the tombs

and sepulchres of the saints. So we, being attracted by that sweet odour, remained for a long time kissing the sacred stone, and received plenary indulgences (††).¹

* * * * *

THE LORD'S MANGER: WHAT IT IS, AND WHAT IT WAS.

After we had shown respect to the place of the Lord's nativity, we turned ourselves towards the manger, which is about seven paces distant from the aforesaid place. When we came to this manger we most devoutly bowed ourselves into it, and kissed it, received plenary indulgences (††), and were refreshed by an odour like that already mentioned. Nor is this to be wondered at, since the flower of balsam was placed in this manger, for the most blessed Virgin Mary wrapped the Child in swaddling clothes, and laid Him in the manger, because there was no room in the inn, and there the shepherds, guided by the angel, found the Child. This manger stands beneath an overhanging stone, wherein earlier pilgrims say that they saw iron rings and bolts, to which beasts were tied. When Christ lay there, there stood tied up an ox and an ass, who knew and worshipped their Lord, as we read in the first chapter of Isaiah. In old times also there used to be shown the stone which the Virgin mother put beneath the head of her little one, because she had no pillow or anything of that sort; but she covered the stone with hay. Wherefore the Church sings, 'He endured to lie in the hay; He did not abhor the manger,' etc. Now, the manger of the Lord was of stone, cut out of the same rock which overhung it, as are the mangers in that country to this day. I do not understand what is commonly reported,

¹ Here follows a sort of sermon.

that St. Helena took away a wooden manger from this place, put a marble one in its place, and translated the true manger to Constantinople, whence it is said to have been translated to the Lateran Church at Rome; unless we should say that Joseph perhaps may have made a manger of wood, and placed it upon the manger of stone. One must say in that case, as many do, that Joseph brought the ox and the ass to that place with him from Nazareth. Now, the manger which is now in that place is marble, made of white and very highly-polished slabs, which cover the true place of the Lord's manger, and it is decorated with an intricate pattern—a thing deplored by Chrysostom, who says: ‘Oh that I might be permitted to behold the manger wherein the Lord lay! Nowadays we Christians, as it were, to show our respect, have taken away clay, and set up silver; but to me what was cast away was more precious, for silver and gold is admired by the Gentiles, but Christian faith and piety admires that manger of clay, because He who was born in that manger despises silver and gold. I do not blame those who [171 a] did this to show Him honour, neither do I blame those who made gold and silver vessels for use in the Temple; but I admire God, the Creator of the world, who was born not amid gold and silver, but in clay.’

Thus far Chrysostom. Indeed, the mangers in that country are either made of stone or of clay, not of planks or trunks of trees. This modern manger is four palms in length, and a little less than three in width. The slab of polished marble which stands opposite to one who kneels before the manger is very curiously polished, like a mirror, and there results from this the following remarkable circumstance, that if carefully and minutely looked at there appears in it the figure of an old bearded man, lying on his back on a mat, in the dress of a dead monk, and

beside him the figure of a lion. This picture is not produced by art or work, but by simple polishing alone, without any design on the part of the polisher; even as we often see when tables made of knotty wood are planed, sometimes after they have been smoothed and polished various figures appear in them which come there without any design on the part of the workman; so it has happened here. They say, however, that this figure was made by the divine ordinance because of the transcendent sanctity of the glorious St. Jerome. This figure is not seen by all, but only by those to whom it is pointed out, and who know of it; he who knows not of it would never be able to see it. So when I was first shown it, I thought that the friar who was showing it to me was joking when he said that he saw the image of St. Jerome in the stone, nor could I see it by myself, until the friar with his finger pointed out to me the outline on the stone, and then I distinctly saw it, just as though it had been delicately painted. In the epistle of Cyril to Augustine about the miracles wrought by St. Jerome we read that in ancient times there was a carved image of St. Jerome in the church on Mount Sion, which was famous for the signal miracles which it wrought.

THE PLACE WHERE THE BLESSED VIRGIN SAT WITH
THE CHILD WHEN THE THREE MAGI CAME WITH
THEIR PRESENTS.

After we had seen the holy manger we turned away from it to the altar which stands before it at a distance of two or three paces, where is the place in which the blessed Virgin Mary sat with the Boy Jesus on her lap, when the three kings came in with their gifts, and offered them to her. In this place likewise we fell upon our faces, as did the three kings, and offered ourselves to the Lord

Christ, and received indulgences, singing the hymn of the three kings, and the proper prayers (†). We learn from the second chapter of St. Matthew with what reverence and piety these three kings offered their gifts. Nor should we believe that these gifts, besides their mystical meaning, were small in themselves. The book tells us that the first of them, Melchior, King of the Arabs, offered coined gold, and a small golden cloth, which could be enclosed in the hand, which cloth Alexander the Great had had made out of all kinds of gold taken from all the countries under his dominion, and enclosed it in his hand in token of empire, and which after his time came into the kingdom of Arabia. Now, when Melchior placed that cloth in the Child's hand, it straightway [b] was turned into ashes, to prove that Christ's Kingdom was not of this corruptible world (John xviii. 36). It is also said that this king presented to Christ the thirty pieces of silver, for which he was afterwards betrayed, as is explained on page 163 *a*. The second, Balthasar, King of Saba, brought abundance of frankincense; and the third, Caspar, King of the Æthiopians, brought precious myrrh. Some, however, say that each of them presented all these three things.

THE WELL INTO WHICH THE STAR OF THE MAGI FELL
AFTER ITS TASK WAS DONE.

After we had accomplished our offering in the place of the offering of gifts, we went down the crypt to its end, and in the corner on the left-hand side of the crypt we came upon a small hole, beneath which is a deep well; howbeit, water cannot be drawn forth from thence, because of the buildings above it. In the time of Christ it was an open well, and into it is said to have fallen the star by whose guidance the Magi were brought from the East, and there it is said to have been resolved into its original

substance. This is the opinion of many doctors of the Catholic Faith, and for a memorial of it this hole has been left. St. Gregory, Bishop of Tours, in his book of miracles, written in the time of the blessed Pope Gregory, says: 'There is in Bethlehem a great pool, whence the glorious Virgin Mary is said to have drawn water, wherein to those who often look upon it a miracle is shown, to wit, that star which appeared to the three Magi; for the devout come and lie on the edge of this pool, and cover their heads with linen clothes, and then he whose merits have gained him the privilege sees the star pass across the pool on the surface of the water from one side to the other, in the same manner wherein stars are wont to cross the vault of heaven. And, though many look into the pool, yet only those of sound mind see the star. I have heard several persons assert that they have seen it, and of late Dyacimus . . . declares that he saw it five several times, but that it was only seen by two persons.'

THE SECOND GROTTO OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN, AND WHAT IS CALLED HER MILK.

Not far from the opening of the well is a doorway, through which we passed into another grotto, which is venerable through having been dwelt in by the Virgin Mary. The legends tell us that on the report of the shepherds and the arrival of the three kings many came from Jerusalem, entered into the (larger) grotto, and worshipped the Child and Mary His mother. When Mary perceived this, fearing Herod, she fled away secretly out of the outer grotto, entered the inner one, and dwelt there. However, in her haste she left behind her in the outer grotto, lying in the manger, a long shift, wherein according to the custom of that country she had been delivered. She likewise left behind her the swaddling clothes in which

the Child was first wrapped, and the stone which she had put under His head, and the hay upon which He lay. All these things remained in the manger, and were by Divine Providence preserved entire and uncorrupted until the time of St. Helena, who found them, as will be shown on page 178 *a*.

Now in this second cave, into which she fled for refuge, there was a prominent stone or rock, whereon the blessed Mary was wont to sit to suckle the babe. It chanced one day that a drop of milk from the Virgin's breast fell upon this stone, and from that time to this drops of liquid have continued to ooze forth from that stone. This liquid is of a milky colour, mixed with a redness as of some drug, and its dripping cannot be checked. Pilgrims place small flasks beneath it, catch the drops as they fall, and take them to parts beyond the sea, saying that this is the milk of the blessed Virgin. This is how it comes to pass that in many churches the blessed Virgin's milk is shown among the reliques, as for instance in Cologne at the altar in the Capitol,¹ and in Kyrchen, a convent of nuns of [172 *b*] the Dominican Order, and in various other places throughout Italy, France, and Germany. Often before I learned the truth I wondered whence that milk could have come, or who could have collected it and preserved it, until I learned by experience that it is nothing more than moisture which drops from a rock. I saw this rock in my first pilgrimage, but in my second beams and trunks of trees had been brought into the grotto, and an alteration made in the place.

Far be it from me to take away by these words any of the honour, praise, and reverence due to the blessed Virgin Mary; for it is possible that the milk may have been preserved elsewhere, or miraculously given to someone, or

* Sta. Maria in Capitolio

that the rock upon which the drop of milk is said to have fallen may from that drop of heavenly milk have received the power of perpetually dropping milk. For if oil continually oozes forth from the tomb of St. Nicholas and from that of St. Waldburgis in Cistania,¹ that thereby the Lord may show the peculiar virtue of His saints, what wonder if this rock should drip with milk, that thereby He may prove the dignity and transcendent virtue of His mother?

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THE CAVE WHEREIN THE BODIES OF THE HOLY INNOCENTS ARE BURIED.

Beside the afore-mentioned cave is another cave into which we could not enter without bending our backs. When one is within one finds a tolerably large place at the side of the other cave on the left hand. Into this cave were cast many thousand bodies of the Holy Innocents whom Herod slaughtered, seeking Christ among them. So here we said our prayers and received indulgences (†). Some of the pilgrims when in this cave searched among the dust on the ground by the light of their candles for some relics of the Holy Innocents, but they found none at all [b], seeing that the faithful have long ago carried them away, and the relics of these innocent children are now scattered throughout the churches of the world. At Venice, in the island of Murano, there are nearly a hundred bodies of the Innocents in one tomb. At the Dominican convent at Nuremberg I have seen one entire body of one of the Innocents. At the Dominican convent at Strasburg they also have one of their bodies entire. At Basle at the Dominican convent they have one hand and several joints of them in a precious monstrance. At the Dominican convent at Ulm they have a tiny shirt stained with blood

¹ ? Kitzingen.

and pierced with sword strokes, which belonged to one of the little Innocents. Noblemen who go to Jerusalem take a special interest in the relics of the Holy Innocents, I know not for what reason. There was in our company an exceeding rich nobleman, who turned over the dust of that cave seeking for relics, and finding none, went to Sabothytaneo, the elder Calinus, the Saracen protector of the pilgrims, and through an interpreter promised that he would give him a hundred ducats if he would procure an entire body for him. Calinus told him in reply that the bodies of these children had been removed to Cairo, where the Lord Soldan had them in his own keeping, and sold them to whom he chose, and that there was no man in the whole kingdom save him alone who was permitted to sell the bodies of these children. When the knight heard this he meditated going to St. Catherine's with the rest, that he might buy a child when he came to Cairo. Now this bargain struck me as being insulting, tricky, and unjust, wherefore I betook me to a man of knowledge and inquired of him about this matter, what one was to think about these bodies of children which were sold by the Soldan. I was assured by him that it is a fact that Saracens and Mamelukes receive the bodies of still-born children, or of children who have died soon after their birth, slash them with knives, making wounds, then embalm the bodies by pressing balsam, myrrh, and other preservative drugs into the wounds, and sell them to Christian kings, princes, and wealthy people as bodies of the Holy Innocents. So they pay great sums of gold and silver, and believe that they receive the bodies of holy children, whereas they receive the bodies of damned children. Thus are Christ's faithful people mocked and robbed of their money, for these infidels know our ardent desire for the possession of relics, and therefore set out

for sale wood said to be part of the Holy Cross, and nails, and thorns, and bones, and many other things of the same kind, to delude the unwary and cheat them out of their money. I do not set much value upon new relics brought from parts beyond the sea, especially those which have been purchased from Saracens or from Eastern Christians falsely so called. It is not so with holy pebbles from the holy places, etc. So we came forth from the cave of the Holy Innocents, and went no further.

Leading from that cave there is a narrow passage cut through the rock, which the Minorite brethren made by stealth, so that they might go into and out of the place of Christ's nativity from the chapel of St. Nicholas, [173 a] where they hold their services. Wherefore they take every means of hiding that passage even from pilgrims, lest it should come to the knowledge of the Saracens and Eastern Christians, because they would straightway block up the passage, and the brethren would lose their holy place. I myself, by the gift of God and the kindness of the Minorite brethren to me, have sometimes been admitted through that secret passage into the most holy place of Christ's nativity, when I have been spending the whole night alone there, after all the doors of the church and grottoes were closed.

So we came out of the cave of the Holy Innocents by the same passage by which we entered it into the cave or crypt of Christ's nativity, where we prostrated ourselves a second time, and kissed the holy places—the place of the nativity, the manger, and the place where the Virgin sat when she received the offerings of the three kings. While we were standing amid these holy places there came into my mind the rapturous vision beheld by the most blessed Paula the pilgrim in this place; for she declared in the hearing of St. Jerome that she saw the babe wrapped in

swaddling clothes, wailing in the manger, the shepherds coming and praising God, the Magi worshipping, and the star shining above. Moreover, she beheld the Virgin with both her eyes continually suckling the child, and all the other mysteries of the nativity. Wherefore upon this spot she was induced to bind herself to the perpetual service of God, as we are told by St. Jerome in his 'Pilgrimage of St. Paula.'

When we had finished our prayers we came up out of the cave and brought our procession to an end. We now went into the cloister and separated into our various companies, brought out of our scrips the food which we had brought with us from Jerusalem, and ate it and drank water. The water of the wells of Bethlehem is cooler, clearer, wholesomer, and sweeter than any that I have seen in parts beyond sea. We had plenty of this water for nothing. Indeed, any amount of toil seems bearable to a pilgrim so long as he has fresh water; they care nothing for cooked victuals, or wine, or beds, or anything but cold and pure water. So after we had eaten and drunk some folded their limbs for sleep on the place where they had eaten, but the greater part, scorning rest, re-entered the church and kept holy vigil beside the manger of the Lord, employing themselves with unceasing prayer.

THE CELEBRATION OF DIVINE SERVICE AT BETHLEHEM, AND HIGH MASS.

At midnight the sacristan ran round the cloister with a board (*noia*), and roused the sleepers for morning service, which the brethren read in the grotto of the nativity, after which we began the solemn service '*Dominus dixit ad me*,' etc., which is chanted throughout the world on the night before Christmas Day. The Father Warden and his attendant clergy, all dressed in their holy vestments,

went in procession to the altar above the place where Christ was born, and so we chanted the service in the grotto. After the service some devout laymen received the Holy Sacrament. The priests celebrated service at the altar of the circumcision, and [b] in the chapel of the three kings, in the upper church, and below at the altar of the Lord's nativity. So we continued to perform divine service until it was bright day.

THE PLACE WHERE JOSEPH LOST HIS WAY WITH MARY
AND THE CHILD.

After we had finished our masses we straightway mounted our asses, and went down from Bethlehem into the valley that we might visit the Church of 'Gloria in Excelsis,' where the shepherds were watching at the hour of the Lord's birth. On the way down we came upon a desecrated and half-ruined chapel, which was placed there in memory of what took place on that spot; for it is said that when Joseph was warned in a dream by the bidding of an angel to flee with the Child and his mother into Egypt, as we read in Matthew ii., he arose, and made haste to flee out of Bethlehem, and went down at this place into the valley, wishing to go down the valley to Sodom, and thence up again across the Jordan, and so set out by the road by which the children of Israel came into the land, for he did not know that there was a shorter way to Egypt, because he had never before seen Egypt. But when he reached the spot where this chapel stands, an angel met him, and pointed out to him the way to Hebron, and from Hebron to Gaza, and so along the shore of the Mediterranean Sea to Egypt. So at this place we said our prayers, and received indulgences (†). When we had received our indulgences, and had gone down but a short way from this place, we came to some ruined walls on a

hill, and here also we learned that a chapel once stood, built in memory of the following event: When the angel had departed from the shepherds, and they were on their way up to Bethlehem to see the Child that had been born, while they went up they began to waver, for deep anguish came upon their hearts, and their spirits were tortured by strange doubts as to whether the vision which they had beheld might not be a snare and a delusion, and thus they might be running into some danger. Now, while they were standing in this place conferring one with another on these matters, and praying to the Lord, lo! the angel of the Lord appeared among them, and assured them of the truth of the matter. They fell on their knees with thanksgiving, and then climbed up the path at a faster pace. So here likewise we gave thanks, and received indulgences (††), and went on our way.

THE CHURCH OF 'GLORY TO GOD IN THE HIGHEST,' AT
THE PLACE WHERE THE SHEPHERDS WERE WATCH-
ING.

From hence we went down hill, through olive-yards, and came into a wide valley full of ploughed fields and meadows. In the midst of this valley we saw great ruined walls, and the remnants of ancient buildings, towards which we turned ourselves. When we came to the place, we found a church, ruined and cast down, yet with its front part still remaining. Now, the precentor began in a loud voice the angels' hymn, '*Gloria in excelsis Deo*, etc., and we went on '*Et in terra pax*', etc., with great solemnity. Singing thus, we entered the ruins, and, still going on our way, went down into the choir, wherein a desecrated altar still stands. Here we sang with great zeal '*Gloria in excelsis Deo*', and the antiphons (174 a) '*Quem vidistis, pastores*', etc., and '*Angelus ad pastores*

ait,' etc. After singing, we prayed in silence, and received indulgences (†). This church stands on the spot where the shepherds were together at the hour of Christ's nativity, and here the angel of the Lord appeared, and stood beside them, and the glory of the Lord shone round about them, and he said: 'I bring you good tidings of great joy,' etc., as we read in the second chapter of St. Luke's Gospel. In this church also is the burial-place of these shepherds; for when they were dying they would not be buried anywhere save in the place of the joyous appearance of the angel, where they had heard a multitude of the heavenly host singing 'Glory to God in the highest.' St. Helena built the church on this spot, and beside it a convent of nuns,¹ whereof even at the present day there may be seen among the ruins a wheel and a parloir, such as nuns are wont to have. This was called the convent of 'Gloria in excelsis.' It was a fairly large one in extent, as may be seen at this day, and its enclosing walls were built of squared hewn stone, as may be seen in the heaps of stones which lie there, which stones the Saracens are by no means able to carry away, for it is said that of a truth, when they try to carry away any of these stones, they become so heavy that they cannot by any means be moved, either by beasts of burden, or by the help of man. So on the slope of the mount there lie several stones which they have carried for some way, but have at last been overpowered by their weight, and have left them in the road. Wherefore let no one doubt that, could they be moved, they would have been carried away a hundred years ago. This place was first hallowed in days of old

¹ Bernard the Wise, who visited Palestine A.D. 867, says, 'One mile from Bethlehem is the monastery of the Holy Shepherds, to whom the angel appeared at our Lord's nativity' (Wright's 'Early Travels in Palestine,' in Bohn's 'Antiquarian Library,' p. 29).

ly the holy men who dwelt there; for here Jacob the patriarch dwelt, because we are told in Genesis xxxv. that, after he had buried his wife Rachel in the way (to Ephrath, which is Bethlehem), as has been told on page 166 *a*, he journeyed thence, and spread his tent beyond the tower of Edar—that is, of the flock. With regard to this passage, Jerome tells us that this place is near Bethlehem, in the place where the heavenly flock sang ‘Glory to God in the highest,’ as the writer of the *Speculum Historiale* tells us about this place. In this place Reuben, Jacob’s first-born, lay with Bala, his father’s wife, and defiled his bed; wherefore he earned his father’s curse.

This field is the field of Boaz, wherein Ruth, the Moabitess, when she was gleaning after the reapers, who would have driven her away, by her virtue turned the heart of the lord of the field toward her, and married him, and in this field she was thought worthy to become a mother in the genealogy of Christ, as may be read in the whole book of Ruth, and in the first chapter of St. Matthew’s Gospel. In the fields of this country David pastured his father’s sheep, and here he tore in pieces a lion which came against him, and slew a bear. David boasted in the presence of King Saul about his victory over these beasts, and gained courage to attack even the giant Goliath, the Philistine, as we read in 1 Samuel xvii. We may suppose that he slew many lions and bears in this place, because the son of Sirach saith, ch. xlvi., ‘He played with lions as with kids, and with bears as with lambs.’

This valley reaches to the eastward as far as Sodom and the Dead Sea, near which, because of the waters of Jordan, many wild beasts of various kinds roam about, and come up by night along the valleys to prey upon the folds of the flocks, and carry off domestic animals if they are able. So David met these beasts as they came up,

and slew them. So on the night and at the hour of the nativity the shepherds were in this valley keeping watch over their flocks by night. With regard to this the question has been asked : ‘ How could the shepherds keep their watch by night when it was winter time, and the earth was bound hard with frost, and covered with snow?’ To this the Easterns answer that these shepherds watch their flocks twice in the year—that is to say, in the spring, and in the winter-time, for in Eastern parts the summer and winter do not generally alter the whole country as they do in Western parts. Very cold valleys may be found there in summer-time, so cold that in the month of August the country people find ice and snow in shady places in those valleys, and place it in earthenware vessels, which they sell to rich men in cities, who cool their wine therein. There are also some mountains so cold that they always have their peaks covered with snow, as the Mount Lebanon, of which Jeremiah says, ch. xviii., ‘ The snow of Lebanon will never fail.’ Candia, an exceeding hot island, is never without snow in certain valleys and on certain peaks, as is plainly to be seen by those who sail thither in summer time. On the other hand, some valleys may be found which are so hot that snow or ice could never remain therein for an hour, even in midwinter, and mountains also which are bareheaded by reason of the heat without any green vegetation whatever. The Vale of Bethlehem is one of these warm valleys, which knows not of snow, nor of ice. In it, about the Feast of the Nativity of the Lord, the barley begins to grow a beard, and therefore beasts are sent thither from other places that they may pasture and grow fat therein in the winter, and people hire certain pieces of ground for a time. Wherefore, in their language, the time of the Lord’s nativity is called the time when grass grows. During the summer

the ground is dry, and baked by the glowing heat of the sun, and in September, when the heat of the sun becomes cooler, all the green things which grow in the earth begin to flourish even as they do in our country in April, save that the plants do not put forth flowers. Yet this season is not hot, but fresh, and men may feel cold during it; but in May is full harvest-time. From all this it is clear that at the time of Christ's nativity shepherds could stay out with their flocks in this valley, because it was warm and green, nor was the ground hard with frost, as perchance it may have been higher up, where Christ was born, where there were both snow, ice, and frost. It is, furthermore, clear from the words used that there were not only two or three shepherds there, but many all through the valley, because there were flocks and herds there not only from Bethlehem, but from all the regions round about, with their keepers, who remained there day and night. There must needs have been many of them, because of the attacks of lions, bears, and wild boars, and because of the robbers, who, from ancient times even to the present day, haunt the desert places by the Jordan, living entirely on theft and rapine, against whom there must needs have been many shepherds, who could not only with their voices, but with their clubs, keep off wild beasts and beast-like men from their flocks. These shepherds all went up into Bethlehem on the night of the nativity at the bidding of the angel, and found the Babe, wrapped in swaddling clothes, lying in the manger. It may, however, have been that three among them, who were the chiefs, bore rule over the rest, and that it is the sepulchres of these three which are in the church aforesaid. This subject is treated of by the Venerable Bede in his homily on the text '*Pastores loquebantur*', etc., where he says: 'The angels appeared to the shepherds in a place which, from the

meeting together of sheep, had from of old been called "the land of the flocks," one mile to the east of Bethlehem, where even at the present day the tombs of those shepherds are shown in a church.' Thus says Bede. Wherefore Jerome, in his letter to the brethren about the holiness of vigils, calls these shepherds exceeding holy men. I have many times been in the valley where they kept their watch in the hottest weather, when all green things were dried up, yet I always saw flocks of sheep and goats there. In another part of the valley opposite to Bethlehem there is a farm standing in a pleasant situation, wherein we saw the ruins of great walls, and it is said that in that place stood the convent of S. Paula and her maidens. So after we had seen the aforesaid places, we remounted our asses, and rode towards Bethlehem; and when upon the mountain we saw the original arrangement of the place of Christ's nativity better than we could when in the place itself, even as the position of the Holy Sepulchre is seen better from the gardens near Aceldama than in the Sepulchre Church itself, as has been told already. On the hill of Bethlehem we saw wide cliffs and rocks appearing out of the ground, beneath which were roomy caverns, the dwellings of poor people who have no proper houses. Such was the birthplace of Christ in the beginning, as I shall prove.

When we had come up as far as the wall of Bethlehem we circled round the wall and sought among the foundations and the steep cliff on which the wall stands for a certain hollow cave, which, however, we were not able to find. I had read in a very ancient book of pilgrimage, written by some saint, that when the Lord was born, Joseph, as was customary, made ready a bath for the Babe in an earthenware pot. After he had bathed the Child Joseph took the pot, carried it out of the inn, and poured

the holy water at random down the wall on to the rocks which projected from among the foundations. For the place of the nativity stands high, having below it a precipitous hill and rocks, whereon the inn itself stood. Now the holy water, when it fell from on high, fell into a hollow rock, in which the whole of that sacred liquid was received and preserved, and for many years that water remained there without wasting and without corruption. In days of old pilgrims were led to this pool, and washed their faces therein, and drank thereof, and filled their water-bottles, and took it to parts beyond sea for a bodily medicine, because many sick people were made better by tasting thereof; yet, how much soever might be taken away, the quantity of the water did not grow less—a miracle, because there was no spring to replenish it. So we sought for this grotto with the holy water, but could not by any means find it; nor is this strange, seeing that in the meanwhile great changes have been wrought in the place by reason of the huge buildings which have been erected there. In latter times, when the Christians possessed the Holy Land, the King of Jerusalem fortified Bethlehem with lofty walls and towers round about it, and so the old arrangement of the place has been done away. We went into Bethlehem, and found the Moorish lords, our guides, ready to depart, for they had not gone down with us into the valley, but had remained quietly waiting for us in the church. They were bitter against us because of our delay, and were in a hurry to return to Jerusalem before [b] sunrise, lest we should suffer from the heat.

THE FAREWELL AND OBLATIONS OF THE PILGRIMS AT
THE PLACE OF THE BIRTH OF JESUS.

When the hour for leaving Bethlehem was come, we all ran to the grotto of the Lord's nativity, that we might bid

farewell to the Boy Jesus and the Virgin mother. From the piety of pilgrims a custom has arisen, that when they kiss the holy place of Christ's nativity for the last time each pilgrim should offer a sum of money, placing it upon the sacred stone of the Lord's nativity, for love of God and the Virgin, and for the repair of the church, and the support of the brethren who dwell there. During this giving of oblations by the pilgrims there took place a detestable deed, which, in truth, I am afraid to tell out of respect to pilgrims. Yet I will tell it, that those who are not able to come to those holy places may learn that a holy place does no good to those who are not well disposed in their hearts, and that a place which is not holy is no hindrance to men of good will. I, indeed, believe that in these most holy places the Enemy tempts the unwary, and lies in wait for them more than elsewhere. The empyrean heaven, of all places the most sublime, did not avail Lucifer; that most noble Paradise did not guard our first parents from sin; the chamber of the Last Supper, the most holy of places, did not keep St. Thomas from unbelief. Wherefore in the fortieth Canon it is written that 'neither places nor orders bring us nearer to our Creator, but it is our own good deeds which bring us near to Him, or our evil deeds which separate us from Him.' Now, when, after the pattern of the three kings, my lords the pilgrims were offering their gifts at the place of the nativity, giving, some gold, some silver, some golden rings, and some wax, there came a certain knight who threw down a ducat upon the stone, as many had done before him. After that knight came an Eastern pilgrim, who bowed himself down to kiss the place, and while in the act of kissing it he stealthily stretched out his sacrilegious hand, drew towards himself from the heap the two nearest ducats, and then rose, went his way, and mingled with the

band of pilgrims. O thief and robber, worthy to be hung on a thousand gibbets! O plunderer, that ought to be torn into a thousand pieces, and mangled with wheels of fire! O sacrilegious one, that should be burned in fire to ashes! O spoiler that oughtest to lose thy head, and to be plunged into the depths of the sea! What impiety! what cruelty moved thee to this! What unbelief blinded thee, that in so exceeding holy a place as this, wherein the Christian with his mind's eyes sees the needy Virgin, the poor Infant, and the beggar Joseph, thou shouldst steal from both of them! Moreover, if thou dost not believe this nor behold it, wherefore dost thou bow down in this place? Why bearest thou the sign of the Cross? How wast thou so rash as to presume to come hither? But if thou art a believer, and yet didst not fear to rob the Babe because of the childhood which He put on for thy sake, how didst thou not fear the eyes of His sweetest mother, who sitteth by the side of the Babe, and most carefully watcheth all that is done round about her child? Are we to suppose that they do not see, because they see with more patience, as also with more wisdom, than man seeth. And if thou didst not regard the Babe nor the mother because of their endless loving-kindness, out of which they do not straightway punish sin, but wait with long-suffering, yet certes thou shouldst have feared her grave and serious husband Joseph (170 a), upon whom the care of both of them rested, and who gazes upon them both, and never turns away his eyes. Furthermore, if these things appear to thee to be vain, and thou declare neither the Babe, nor His mother, nor Joseph, to be present here, yet why did not that exceeding sweet odour, which breathes forth from this place, left behind by the infant limbs of the Boy Jesus and the body of His most chaste mother, draw thee back from the act of sacrilege? Per-

chance it was with thee, as it was with that most avaricious of men, the traitor Judas, who was all the more enraged, stirred up and egged on to the selling and cruel betrayal of his Master by the exceeding sweet scent of the ointment which was poured on the head of Jesus, with the scent whereof it is written that the whole house was filled. Of a truth I suspect that hadst thou been here in the time of the three kings thou wouldest have filched away their presents, and wouldest without shame or excuse have plundered the young Child, His most delicate mother, and the poor Joseph. But why do I dwell any longer on this? Thy theft doth no harm to the Babe, for at this day three kings do not come from the East together, but many run hither in troops from the four quarters of the world, and daily make oblations which are accepted by the Babe. Neither doth thy theft deprive of their merit those who give offerings, as it doth not him from whom thou hast stolen this trifie, nor rob him of his piety, which it shows in those who made the offerings, and storeth up vengeance for thee with other wicked men in its own good time. In such terms as these doth Jerome inveigh against another act of sacrilege committed in this same church, in his objurgatory Epistle against Sabinianus the deacon, the seducer of the virgin Susanna.

Now, when my lords the knights had made their offerings, and were counting up what they had given, we found out that there must have been a thief among them, and, looking round, we saw that Eastern, and felt no manner of doubt that he had done this evil. We laid hold of him in the holy grotto, and on searching him found the gold on him. We made him restore it to the proper place, and when he had done this we drove him out of our company. This theft took place on my first pilgrimage; and on my second the same thing happened through a certain Saracen

who had come in with us, and who, bowing down at the holy place as though he would pray, secretly filched away some money from thence. Howbeit, some of the pilgrims who were standing beside him and saw his trick followed him, and we laid hold of him, and dragged him into the holy grotto, despite of his shouts and struggles. With great force we opened his hands, and found the money, which we took, and with indignation thrust out the infidel thief from the grotto. At last we kissed the place, and by the permission of the holy mother went up out of it, and on coming out of the church mounted our asses, and returned to Jerusalem by the road by which we came. When there we dined, and after dinner we laid ourselves down to rest. On the previous night we had watched beside the Lord's manger, and on the following night we were to watch at the Lord's most holy tomb.

DESCRIPTION OF BETHLEHEM.

Having put our own pilgrimage to Bethlehem first, it now remains for me to describe the place itself. I shall first describe the city, and, secondly, the place of the Lord's nativity.

Bethlehem is an ancient city, which in old time had some name which [*b*] the Scriptures do not give, for I cannot find by what name it was called before it was named Ephrata. It was named Ephrata from the wife of Caleb, who is buried there, who was so named, as we are told by the author of the *Speculum Historiale*. They say that this Ephrata, Caleb's wife, was Miriam, the sister of Moses, who, before she was stricken with leprosy, was named Miriam; but after her infection with leprosy, and her being cured therefrom, was named Ephrata, and who died and was buried in the desert of Sin, as we are told in Num. xx. 1. Caleb afterwards dug her up, and buried

her in Bethlehem, which was not then called by that name, and gave her name to the city, calling it Ephrata. That Ephrata was Caleb's wife is agreed by all, but that she was Moses's sister is denied by many, as may be seen in Nicholas de Lyra's commentary on 1 Chronicles ii., where it is distinctly stated in the text that Ephrata was Caleb's wife. St. Jerome holds that Ephrata was the sister of Moses; wherefore, in his letter to Principia the virgin; he says: 'Miriam, the sister of Moses, sings the victories of the Lord, and marks our Bethlehem and Ephrata by her name for a sign to them that come after her.' So for many years this blessed city was named Ephrata, even until after the famine, which took place in the days of Elimelech, after which there was such plenty there that it was called Bethlehem, which is, being interpreted, 'the house of bread.' About this famine and the plenty which followed it one may read in the whole book of Ruth. 'Beth' in Hebrew signifies 'a house,' and 'lechem,' 'bread'; wherefore 'Bethlehem' means 'the house of bread.' Here it should be noted that the names of the cities and villages of the Holy Land for the greater part begin with 'Beth,' after which syllable comes another, which tells the peculiarity of the place; as here Bethlehem, the house of bread, because of the abundance of corn which was there after a great and long famine. Bethany is called the village of the jawbone, because it was a village of priests, and sheep were bred there to be sacrificed on the altar, whereof the jawbone fell to the priests as their portion. So Bethany is called 'the house of obedience,' because one of the kings of Jerusalem built a castle there to the end that it should be obedient to the king's court, and to the city of Jerusalem, and the Mount Sion. So Bethsames is called 'the house of the sun,' because of the temple which stood therein, in which the sun was

worshipped. Bethel was called ‘the house of God,’ because there Jacob beheld the secrets of heaven, and said: ‘This is none other than the house of God,’ as we read in Gen. xxviii. 17. So Bethagla is called ‘the house of mourning,’ because there Jacob’s sons mourned for their father when he died, as we read in the last chapter of Genesis, etc., . . . and in the case of many other names of villages beginning with ‘Beth,’ whose interpretation you get in Jerome’s book on the interpretation of Hebrew names. A like fashion of naming castles, towns, and cities prevails in Germany, save that in German the syllable which signifies ‘house’ is put last in the word, whereas in Hebrew it is put first. We say in German Offenhusen, which is in Latin open house, and in Hebrew Bethbosoron. We also say in German Schafhusen, the house of the sheep in Latin, which is in Hebrew Bethanania. So Ochsenhusen, house of the ox, Betschor, Gaishusen, house of the goat, Bethess. So a village near Ulm is called Dreckshusen, the house of dung, Bethsevell. And if the Germans were at this day the owners of the Holy Land, then Bethlehem might rightly be called Brothusen, Bethphage Baggahusen, Bethsames Sonnahusen, Bethagla Flanhusen, Bethsaida [177 a] Fruchthusen, Bethaven Abgotthusen, Bethhara Berghusen, Bethaben Steinhusen, Bethrama Hochhusen, and so in many other instances.

Now, the city of Bethlehem was noble, and the dwelling of nobles from old times; wherefore it may be that before it was named Ephrata and Bethlehem, it may have been called Bethtonforon—that is, ‘the house of nobles’—albeit, we do not learn its true name from the Scriptures. Although it was a city of nobles, yet was it never a large city, seeing that the form of the place forbids this. It stands upon a mountain ridge, which is long, but not wide on the top; moreover, it stands on a horn or brow of the

mountain, in such sort that the ground whereon it stands is set about with valleys on the north, east, and south, and curves back towards Jerusalem on the western side. Here it once had ditches, walls, and towers, as may plainly be seen even at the present day. I have walked round the city, and have most carefully inspected its site. At the present day the village is fairly populous, and its inhabitants take no heed of walls or ditches. The greater part of those who dwell there are Eastern Christians, who are in league with the Saracens, and even with the Arabs, and who support themselves from the country round about, for the soil round about Bethlehem is exceeding fertile, abounding in corn, wine, oil, and pasture. In the division of the land among the twelve tribes of Israel, it fell to the lot of the tribe of Judah, and to the portion of Phases, a most noble family of that tribe.

The blessed Jerome has shown how worthy Bethlehem is of praise in many of his writings; more especially in the epistle to Marcella he says: ‘With what speech can I tell you of the inn of Mary—with what words can I describe to you the Saviour’s Grotto? Indeed, the manger wherein the Babe wailed is better honoured by silence than by inadequate speech. Here are wide porticos and gilded ceilings. Lo! out of Bethlehem, in this tiny corner of the earth, was born the Founder of the heavens; it was here that He was wrapped in swaddling clothes, that He was seen and worshipped by the shepherds and the Magi. This spot, I trow, is holier than the Tarpeian Rock, whose being so often struck by lightning proves that it is displeasing to God. There there is, indeed, a holy church; and a believing people, and a populous city, but ambition. . . . In Christ’s viilage there is a secure rusticity; there is silence, save for the singing of psalms, whithersoever you turn yourself; he that holds the plough chants

Alleluia ; the sweating reaper betakes him to psalmody ; the vine-dresser as he trims the vines with his crooked knife sings some of the songs of David. These are the ballads of this province ; these are what are commonly called elsewhere "lovers' songs." Thus St. Jerome. Bethlehem was so highly prized by the holy Paula that she preferred it to Rome, and, as St. Jerome saith in his epistle on the life and death of S. Paula, she exchanged the contemptible glitter of hideous dirt for beaten gold. The great Sophronius, a man of deep learning, composed an elegant book on the praises of Bethlehem, as Jerome tells us in his treatise 'Of Illustrious Men.' He likewise translated from Latin into Greek all the works which Jerome had translated from Hebrew into Latin. St. Bernard in his sermon to the Knights Templars greatly praises Bethlehem, the place where the Lord was born.

THE PLACE OF CHRIST'S NATIVITY, WHAT IT USED TO BE, AND WHAT IT IS LIKE AT THIS DAY.

The place of the Lord's birth was not in the town, but was adjoining the city wall on a slope on the north side of the town, as may be seen at this day. It delights me to talk about this most sweet place, even as it delighted me to dwell therein, and I wish to say what this place was like.

I. Before Christ's coming, in the time of the judges, prophets, and kings of Juda.

II. At the birth of Christ, when Mary bore Christ therein.

III. After the birth of Christ, when the malice of the Jews raged against the very place itself.

IV. In the time of Helena, who rendered the place illustrious with glory and honour.

V. In the time of St. Jerome, who became famous there for his holiness and miracles.

VI. In the time of the perverted and bad Christians, who desecrated the holy places.

VII. In the time of the Saracens, who have brought it almost to nothing, and reduced it to its present wretched state.

As touching the first question what the place of Christ's birth was like before the Lord's advent, the reader must know that Salmon, the son of Naasson, took to wife Rahab the harlot of Jericho. Now this Salmon was one of the greatest chiefs of the people of Israel, when they crossed over Jordan and took the land by force of arms. He and Rahab his wife owned Bethlehem, and their stronghold and house was there. He built for himself a vast dwelling against the wall, in such sort that his house was not included within the walls of the town; but separately fortified, even as in our own parts the lords of cities have separate dwellings of their own, adjoining the city wall. Now this dwelling was built upon the rock, and there was a hollow in the rock [b] forming a grotto, which was useful as a cellar to put things into which would not bear the heat; and when the heat was very great people used to sleep there, and pregnant women were delivered there, wherefore it was there that Rahab bore Boaz, who after his father's death was made judge over the whole people of Israel and lord of Bethlehem, who took to wife Ruth the Moabitess, who in that cave bore Obed, and Obed's wife bore Jesse thercin, and Jesse's wife bore David the king in that same cave. Now, after David was made king, he took the flocks and the household of his father to the house which he had built for himself in Jerusalem on Mount Sion, and left the house of his birth empty. Yet was Bethlehem called the city of David, because he was born there and anointed king there, as likewise Mount Sion, where he reigned, was called the

city of David, and both often occur in Scripture. But after this transfer of the household of David was made less respect was paid to the house at Bethlehem, wherefore the doors and doorways became ruined and broken through by age, and the house became a house of call for merchants, and bread, cloth, and fruit was sold therein ; and before the house was an open space where men met to converse, and young men met to dance, and so this house stood for many years as a public shop or place of shops which stood under the vaults, and it was an inn—a shelter for strangers at night. This was the first state of the holy place of the nativity. The second state of this place was as follows : Because no care was taken of the place to maintain the buildings thereon, at last the vaults were broken and fell in, the bare walls went to ruin, and contained no more shops or merchandise ; howbeit, the ruins of the walls still stood there, and upon them a poor and imperfect building was raised, and a hovel, at the end or head of which hovel was the aforesaid grotto. Now this hovel was an inn, to which poor people resorted, and tied up their cattle there, and put there their carts and the other things which they could not find room for in the city. Thus the place remained until the time of Joseph, the husband of the Virgin Mary. When at the proclamation of Cæsar Augustus he came from Nazareth to Bethlehem with the pregnant Virgin Mary, he found the city full of people, and all the rooms in the inns taken ; and so, not finding any place wherein he could stay, he went out of the city, turned into this inn in which stood cattle and farming-gear, and there made a place for himself. Now when the blessed Virgin Mary's time was come that she should be delivered, she entered into the cave wherein last the first David had been born, and there she bore the second David, Jesus Christ, as hath been told on page 169 *b*,

and in that place she dwelt for a time. For what an inn is like see page 195 *a*.

The third state of this most holy place was as follows : When our Lord was born, and after His flight into Egypt, Herod proceeded to the murder of the innocent children, and with great fury searched the inn, seeking therein for the Boy Jesus, because he had heard that the mother to whom the Magi had brought presents had dwelt there. As he did not find the Child [178 *a*] there he destroyed the inn, cast down the walls which had remained standing, and ordered that thenceforth there should be no inn on that spot. So the place remained deserted until after the Lord's ascension. Then, however, the blessed Virgin Mary began to visit the place with her friends, as is told on page 173 *b*; and, in consequence of this, other faithful people came to that holy place and did honour to it. After the assumption of the blessed Virgin, when the faithful were showing their respect for the place, the Jews, enraged at this, laid a ban upon both the place and those who came to it, proclaiming the place to be unclean and accursed, and that everyone who entered into it was defiled and worthy of punishment ; moreover, they blocked up the ways leading into the place with stones. The place remained thus shut up even unto the times of Titus and Vespasian, who took Jerusalem by storm, and scattered abroad the Jews throughout the world. After they had been scattered the Christians began to dwell in the Holy Land, and they cleansed the place of the Lord's nativity, and made pilgrimages to it until the time of the emperor Aelius Hadrianus, who made the holy places abominable to the Christians with idols ; for he set up a statue of Venus upon the rock of Calvary in the place where Christ died, and placed the image of Jupiter in the cave wherein Christ was buried; and ordained the cave of the Lord's

nativity to be used for wailing for Adonis, so that Adonis, the darling of the most unchaste Venus, was now wailed for in the cave wherein once Christ had cried as a babe and the most chaste Virgin had nursed Him; as we are told by Jerome in his epistle to Paulinus on the ordination of monks. For this wailing for Adonis see Ezekiel viii. 14, and Part II. of this book, page 140 *a*, and at greater length on page 179 *a*. So was this holy place rendered strange to Christians—nay, loathsome to them because of idolatry.

The fourth state of this holy place was as follows: The place remained for more than three hundred years given up to the vile service of idols, at the end of which time God raised up the soul of that holy woman Helena, a German, who, after she had become empress and been made a Christian, went to Jerusalem, sought out the holy places, found the cross and the other symbols of our redemption, cleansed the holy places, cast down the idols, and hurried from Jerusalem to Bethlehem, where she cleansed the place of the most sweet nativity of the Lord, cast out the abominations of the idols from the holy cave, overthrew all that she found there, and beneath the ruins found the Lord's manger entire. In it she found the stone which the blessed Virgin had placed under the Babe's head, and the hay, the swaddling clothes, Joseph's sandals, and the long gown in which she was delivered, after the fashion of Eastern women, who when they are with child wear long wide gowns like the surplices of priests, and pages carry their mistresses' trains. But if they be poor and have no pages, they gird themselves, and carry the gown hanging down from their girdle. Such a gown had the blessed Virgin Mary, and left it in that place with other things because of the haste with which she fled, which things were by Divine command preserved

uncorrupted even unto the time of St. Helena, who found them.

When she had cleansed the spot, she built above it a church of wondrous beauty. She called together the best workmen in wood and stone, and [b] told them of her design, which was that an exceeding costly church should be built here, but in such a manner that the rock beneath which the Saviour was born should remain untouched. So the workmen prepared the place for the building of a great church, and placed therein none but chosen pieces of wood and stone, white and polished slabs of marble, exceeding precious columns, and beams of cedar and cypress wood. Besides these things this holy woman gave more, providing gold and silver without fail to the chief workmen, and other metals without measure. She covered all the walls and all the pavement with white or variegated marble, and caused the upper part of the walls to be painted in mosaic work. Thus was built a great and noble church of oblong form, exceeding well arranged, in such sort that the cave of the Lord's nativity remained untouched immediately beneath the choir, beneath the sanctuary. This church is built after the fashion of Roman churches, for it has first of all at the west end a covered porch before the doors of the church, and when one enters a great, long, and wide nave; and beyond this to the eastward a choir, into which one ascends by some steps from the nave, from which choir one goes up into the sanctuary and into the presbytery. From the sanctuary one goes up some steps to the high altar. On either side of the choir are chapels, and on either side of the nave are apses (? transepts). Beneath the choir is the crypt of the Lord's nativity, which is about as long as the choir; and beneath the high altar is the hollow stone wherein Christ was born. There are two doors leading into this

crypt, whereof one is on the right-hand side leading into the chapel of the Lord's circumcision, and the other leads into the chapel on the left-hand side. The way down into the crypt is by sixteen steps. It has a roof made of lead, and is not vaulted, as, indeed, the chief churches at Rome are not vaulted. It has a round choir full of windows, and a passage on the outside above the windows. The nave has many windows on either side, and the church is bright and light. This is the general arrangement of the church. To come to details, the church measures thirty-seven paces in length, and eighteen in width. It contains four rows of costly columns, which are great and tall, and each one of them is made of a single solid stone, and they are polished with oil, so that a man can see his face in them as in a mirror. So it is also with the slabs of polished marble with which the walls are clothed, which are so clean that a man can see in them everything that is in the church more clearly than he could in a good mirror. Each row of columns has twelve columns, and each column is twelve paces distant from the one next to it, and in all these are seventy exceeding precious columns arranged as the building requires them. Above the capitals of the columns are placed beams of imperishable wood, from which on either side a wall rises up as far as the roof. This wall, from the columns as far as the windows, is not painted, but inlaid,¹ being adorned with mosaic work with wondrous art on either side, like the church of St. Mark at Venice, with figures from the New Testament, and corresponding figures from the Old Testament, and the whole church in all its walls is either cased with white polished marble, or adorned with mosaic work. Above all, the cave of the nativity beneath the

* *Lasura.* See *laceure* in Godefroy's 'Dictionnaire de l'Ancienne Langue Française.'

choir is adorned with exceeding costly pavements and wall-slabs and pictures. (179 *a*) In all these matters the sainted woman spared no expenses, but contributed with the greatest liberality. Wherefore the Jews in derision used to call the sainted woman 'the woman of the stable,' because she built so costly a building over a humble stable. When the sainted woman had finished her work she took the wooden manger, which Joseph is said to have made, and the swaddling clothes, and Joseph's sandals, and the blessed Virgin's long gown, and took them to Constantinople, not meaning to rob Bethlehem, but to make other places also venerable on account of the relics from Bethlehem. She deposited the aforesaid relics at Constantinople in the church of St. Sophia, and there they remained until the time of Charles¹ the Great. This Charles delivered the holy city of Jerusalem and its patriarch Zachary from the power of the Saracens, and restored peace to the Eastern Christians. When he had returned with his army to Constantinople he begged as the reward of his labours the manger with the hay, the swaddling clothes, the sandals, and the long gown of the blessed Virgin. All these he received, and took them to Rome; he placed the hay in the church of St. Mary the Great, and the manger he placed in the holy of holies in the church of St. John Lateran. The gown and Joseph's sandals, and the swaddling clothes wherein Jesus was wrapped, he took into Lower Germany, and placed them in the church of the blessed Virgin which he had built at Aachen. Even to the present day they are shown there every seventh year. I myself saw them there in the year 1487.

The fifth state of the place of Christ's nativity was as follows: After the times aforementioned the whole of the

¹ Charlemagne.

East was converted to Christ, and the holy places were visited by all the nations of the world. Some devout men and saints sold all that they had, came to the Holy Land with the money, and they bought a dwelling-place there, desiring to finish their lives there. Among them came St. Jerome, from Rome, and chose to live at Bethlehem, near the Lord's manger. He was followed by that most holy widow, Paula, and many others. This has been set forth on page 6 *a*, and page 8 *a*. After this golden age, as the sins of the Christians increased, the Saracens again conquered the land in the time of Benedict the Eighth, in whose reign the great schism arose in the church, and many evil deeds were done, and the Saracens held the holy places for many years by the payment of tribute. Then a second time Christians throughout the world cried out for the holy places, the whole West was united together, and they went into the Holy Land in a great multitude, both by sea and by land, won it back with much labour, and set up a king in Jerusalem. They rebuilt the churches and monasteries, instituting bishops and prelates for the increasing of the service of God, and in a short time they brought all the nations round about into subjection, so that no one stirred a finger against them; for in the meanwhile the Christians had fortified towns and castles, and more especially they had strengthened Jerusalem and Bethlehem against the infidels with walls and towers. In those times holy Bethlehem was full of people—famous, and rich. Christians from every country on earth brought presents thither, and exceeding rich merchants dwelt there. Wherefore at this day there are vaulted colonnades in front of the churches, beneath which the shops of the merchants used to stand, and the clergy and people alike progressed enormously [*b*] in matters temporal and spiritual alike. Every day pilgrims from all parts of the world

flocked thither in great companies, not merely to the end that they might see the holy places and receive indulgences, but that they might see examples of righteousness, and might take home with them amendment of their own lives. More especially at the chief feasts, to wit, the Lord's Nativity and the Resurrection, such a multitude collected together from the uttermost parts of the world that the land could scarce contain them, because of the exceeding devotion wherewith the holy services were performed.

They used to celebrate the Feast of the Lord's Nativity in the following manner : On the eve of the Lord's Nativity the patriarch of Jerusalem came to Bethlehem, together with his bishops, abbots, clergy, and monks. Accompanying them came the King of Jerusalem, with his princes, counts, knights, lords, and nobles, who were followed by a countless multitude of pilgrims, led by the grand master and lords of the Knights Hospitallers, and the common people, both old and young, all hastened to Bethlehem on that day. At midnight the ringing of bells called all the people into the Church of Christ's Nativity, where after morning prayer the Bishop of Bethlehem, with his attendants, all in their sacred vestments, went in procession into the cave of the Nativity, and sang mass in the place of the nativity—‘*Dominus dixit ad me*,’ etc. When this service was over they all went out of the church in procession, carrying lighted torches, candles, lamps, and other lights, and went down the valley as far as the Church of ‘*Gloria in Excelsis*,’ where they held the service ‘*Lux fulgebit cum magno gaudio*,’ this service being chanted by some one of the great pastors and prelates. After this service they went up again, and chanted the rest of the canonical hours. At this time the patriarch of Jerusalem put on his sacred vestments, and performed the high mass, ‘*Puer est natus*,’

etc., in the choir with admirable solemnity. They used to have a great golden star, which some of them lowered down from the roof of the choir into the midst of them. Young men stood above, who sang 'Glory to God in the highest,' and moved the star all the way from the east to the west. Likewise also on the Day of the Circumcision a great solemnity took place at Bethlehem, and likewise on the Day of the Kings all the people assembled thither with presents. On the octave of the Epiphany they used to celebrate the Feast of the Baptism in the Church of St. John the Baptist upon Jordan, and for this all the people and clergy went down to the Jordan. On the Day of the Annunciation they met at Nazareth; on Good Friday and Easter Day in the (Church of the) Lord's Sepulchre; on the Day of the Last Supper on Mount Sion, as likewise on the Day of Pentecost; on the Day of the Lord's Ascension on the Mount of Olives; on the Day of the Assumption of the blessed Virgin Mary in the Valley of Josaphat. The only wish of the people was to perform divine service with devout solemnity. As long as this singleness of heart and devotion to the holy places endured, they were kept in great honour and beauty [180 a], and the Christian people dwelt in peace and quietness. Oh, had anyone then beheld the church of Bethlehem with all its adornments, he would have been astounded at its magnificence!

The sixth state of the place of the Lord's Nativity strikes every faithful Catholic with sorrow. Alas! my kind brethren, in order that I may tell you of this, I am forced to change my style, and must offer to you to drink the cup of bitterness which I myself have mournfully received, filled to the brim with the acerbity of sorrow. While the Christians served God in the Holy Land, they possessed the holy places in peace, and all nations served Him; but

when the service of God was neglected, the opposite of these things came to pass. In the year of our Lord 1186, in the days of Pope Urban III., there was a king in Jerusalem named Guy, who was careless and unlucky, and between him and his princes there arose strife and sedition, so that, as the nobles of the land were quarrelsome and jealous, the priests and clergy became greedy and proud, and the common people incontinent and vicious. Wherefore the Saracens rose against them, and persecuted them even to extermination.

Moreover, a certain Christian committed a sin in the church at Bethlehem, whereat all courage and power of resistance was taken away from the Christians, and they became weaker than women. Of a truth, a horrible infamy is recounted, how that a Christian turned the enclosure of the church at Bethlehem, built in honour of the most glorious Virgin Mary, the mother of chastity, the hall of modesty, the vase of cleanliness, into a house of ill-fame, to the despite of the mother of God. I loathe to speak of this event, but the ruin and pitous contempt into which the place has fallen, and which must be wept for because of this crime, does not allow me to pass it over in silence. There was a Christian in those days who loved a Saracen woman with an unclean love, and earnestly besought her every day to consent to him, whereas she constantly resisted him, and fled from him. One day, when he was annoying the woman more eagerly than usual, she cast in his teeth the name of Christ, and the chastity of the Christian religion, which he made light of, and declared that the crime was not so grave a one as it was thought to be. Now, the woman had marked the virtue of the Christians in many things, and wondered that she should be so solicited. Led by curiosity, she wished to try whether there were any virtue or fear of God in that

Christian, and one day she said to him : ‘Lo! I am overcome by thy importunities, and I consent to thee; but I will not yield to thee save in the church of St. Mary in Bethlehem.’ He willingly accepted this condition, and at the appointed hour they met in the church, he and she alone. When the woman saw that he cared nothing for the church, that he should restrain himself therein, she said : ‘I will not yield to thee here; let us go into the cave of the birth of thy God ; there it is dark and secret.’ He straightway went down with the woman, who placed herself upon the Lord’s manger, and sate there. As he pressed upon her, she rose up, took her seat upon the stone, which is in the place of the most holy Nativity, and said to the Christian : ‘Here was thy God born of a virgin ; if thou canst lie with me here [b], come.’ That desperate and execrable wretch fearlessly went to her, caring nothing for the place. Seeing this, the woman abhorred his wickedness, and indignantly cast away that Christian from her. ‘Go,’ said she, ‘most wicked Christian, and know that this wickedness shall by no means pass unpunished.’ Saying this, the woman fled, and first entered Bethlehem, where, with cries and tears, she told all men what had befallen, inveighing against the Christians, and urging on the Saracens to avenge her upon them. Henceforth that woman became a kind of prophetess among the Saracens, preaching to them that there was no more virtue among the Christians, and that they might fearlessly attack them, and drive them out of the country. Hearing this, the Saracens, excited by religious zeal, rose against the Christians, and began to rage furiously against them, conquered them, and in a short time drove all the Latins out of their country. Now, he who did this aforesaid wickedness was one of the greatest and most powerful of the Christians. Oh, had such an evil deed been done in the

time of Jerome, what wailings and tears it would have called forth! For in the time of Jerome there was a deacon named Sabinianus and a virgin named Susanna, who, being in love with one another, used to hide their letters either in the cave of the Lord's Nativity, or in the Church of the Shepherds. St. Jerome found them, and anyone who wishes to know what weeping and mourning they caused him should read the objurgatory epistle to Sabinianus, and he will scarce restrain himself from weeping together with the mourner. Thus, then, the Holy Land came into the hands of the infidels and enemies of the Cross of Christ, who hold the same even to this day, and have already held it for two hundred and eighty-seven years; and thus it is evident that as our salvation began in Bethlehem, even so our banishment began there also.

THE MODERN STATE OF THE CHURCH OF BETHLEHEM.

The seventh state of the place of Christ's Nativity is that wherein I, Brother Felix Fabri, beheld it. For when, as aforesaid, the Saracens had triumphed over the Christians, and had driven them out of the land, they first rushed into Jerusalem, into the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, desiring to overthrow it; but the Syrians, that is to say the Christians of Syria, redeemed it by giving the Soldan a great sum of gold. After this the Soldan came to Bethlehem, where he broke down the exceeding strong fortalice which had been built there, destroyed the city wall, and turned himself to the Church of the Nativity of the Lord. First he destroyed the monastery which adjoined the church, which was exceeding great and stately, and cast down the walls and towers which the Christians had built with great expense and labour, and left a piteous heap of ruins all round about the church.

When he had destroyed the defences he attacked the church, meaning to break it down and destroy it. When they came in they first destroyed the altars, and then broke the carven images ; but the Soldan, when he saw the marble slabs wherewith the walls and the floor were adorned, and the exceeding precious columns, gave orders that they should all be pulled down, that he might take them away whither he pleased. O miracle and prodigy, meet to be proclaimed among the faithful ! When the workmen came with their tools, and had touched the wall near the door by which one goes into the Lord's cave with their iron crowbars, the Soldan standing by and watching them out of the unbroken solid wall, which it seemed that even a needle could not pierce, there came forth a serpent of wondrous size, who bent his head back against the wall, and gave a bite to the first marble slab, and split it with his fiery tongue. [181 *a*] From thence he swiftly crawled to the next slab, and onwards to the third and fourth, and so he went along one side, splitting every slab. He leaped into the chapel of the Three Kings, ran along that highly-polished wall whereon not even a spider could plant its feet, split forty slabs in two, and disappeared. On beholding this miracle the Soldan was astounded, and all those about him, so that they changed their purpose, left off destroying, and went away. Now the track of the serpent over the slabs remains even to this day, and is as though someone had held glowing hot iron hard against the stones, and as though the stones themselves had been able to burn like wood. I beheld the traces of this miracle with great pleasure, and often looked curiously upon them with inward wonderment.

After this, in the year 1341, there came Saracens, who were sent by the Soldan, to carry away the precious columns. But when they laid their hands upon them

they were so greatly frightened by some horrible vision that their limbs were palsied, and they could do nothing ; wherefore they fled in terror, and never again presumed to lay their hands upon them. After some years had passed another Soldan again gave orders, not, indeed, that the church should be destroyed, but that the slabs of the pavement in the Lord's cave should be taken up. Now the slabs of the pavement of the Lord's manger are exceeding costly, great and wide, not altogether white, but a beauteous colour is mixed with the white, as it is in the skins of calves.¹ When they had gone down with their tools to lift up these slabs, whatever they touched with their tools or their hands continually broke into the smallest possible pieces like rotten wood, and had they lifted up the slabs they would have been useless. When they saw this, they left the slabs in their places and fled. I have measured these slabs, and each of them is seven feet wide and twelve feet long, and they are polished like mirrors.

Not many years passed before some young Saracens, who presumed to lay their sacrilegious hands on these holy stones, were punished. There is a belief among the Saracens that beneath the stone of the Lord's Nativity, and beneath the manger, inestimable treasures lie buried, but that they cannot be found or seen. Some curious and greedy youths climbed into the church by night through the window which is above the altar of the Lord's circumcision, entered the most holy cave, and raised the slabs at the place of the Nativity and those at the manger. Whatever they raised fell into pieces in their hands, and when they began to dig such great fear and trembling came upon them that they left their tools, dropped out of the window through which they came, and left their country,

¹ ‘Sicut sunt pelles vehinæ’ (?).

nor could anyone find out whither those thieves went. It is said to be true, and is not doubted among those who dwell near the spot, that no Saracen can carry anything out of the church himself with his own hands ; [b] and if any Saracen presumes to lay his hands upon anything with intent to take it away, he will not go unpunished. But, notwithstanding this, many polished slabs have been torn from the walls by Christian thieves ; for the wretched Eastern Christians take away such things as these and sell them to the Saracens, wherefore the Saracens sometimes hire Christian thieves for a price, to steal for them the slabs which they covet. No one can doubt that if the Saracens were able to take away these marble ornaments they would all have been taken away long ago ; but God watches over these places for our consolation, and for His own glory, and nevertheless suffers them to come into jeopardy for our sins. During my first pilgrimage the roof of the church, which is of great weight because it is made of lead, was threatening to fall in upon the choir, and was only held up by long beams set up on the pavement of the choir, upon which it rested. Wherefore I then wished that God would raise up King Jehoash, of whom we read in 2 Kings xii. that he forced the priests to repair the breaches of the Temple of the Lord, and I have often sorrowed deeply, fearing that the church would fall into irretrievable ruin ; for had it fallen down it never would have been rebuilt ; for thus are the Saracens charged by Mohamet in his Alcoran, that they suffer not the Christians to build new churches, nor to repair their old ones. So for many years the Soldan refused permission to the Christians to repair the breaches of that church ; howbeit, at length being overcome by the constant entreaties of the Minorite brethren of Mount Sion, he relaxed his strictness, and allowed the breaches to be

repaired. Wherefore the brethren took measures to have all the wood needful for these repairs got ready at Venice by workmen who had been given the measurements of the church, and for having it brought in galleys by sea to Joppa, and carried from Joppa to Bethlehem upon camels, and thus the whole of the roof of the church has been restored by Venetian workmen, and all defects in the wood and in the lead have been made good with great labour and expense ; for they took away from the roof the old wood, which was cedar and cypress from Mount Lebanon, and put in new pine-wood from our mountains. Indeed, Solomon, when building the temple at Jerusalem, received cedar-wood from Lebanon, which the King of Tyre sent him over sea in ships to Joppa, and he himself brought it from Joppa to Jerusalem, as we read in 2 Chron. ii., and Joshua iii. 2. Likewise St. Helena caused beams of cedar to be sent to her over sea by ships to Joppa, and there to be landed and brought to Bethlehem. This was then easy, and could be managed in a few days ; but now it is most difficult for Christians to take timber from Lebanon, because the infidels now possess those countries, and even if they were to allow us to take it, they would burden it with excessive customs, duties, and other exactions, wherefore it is easier to take wood from our Alps for the repair [182 a] of the churches of Christ than from the mountains which border on the Holy Land. I believe that in Lebanon itself there is no more cedar timber, even as on Mount Sion there is no more of the cypress wood, whereof Solomon saith in the Book of Wisdom : ‘I was exalted as a cedar in Lebanon, and as a cypress on Mount Sion.’¹ Since the restoration of this church the whole

¹ So in the text. The passage which Fabri meant to quote is Ecclesiasticus xxiv. 13 : ‘I was exalted like a cedar in Libanus, and as a cypress-tree upon the mountains of Hermon.’

of the church has become cleaner, for before it the roof was full of pigeons and sparrows, and of the nests of divers kinds of birds, who muted from above, and defiled the costly pavement ; but since it has been repaired martens have come, which run about there and leave no bird alive, and preserve the roof from all uncleanness. Sometimes I have been alone in that church at night and have heard so much running about of the martens in the roof that I was terrified, believing that it was some delusion, until I learned the truth. Not only did the Lord and King of Egypt, the Soldan Catube, grant permission for the repair of this church, but he even allowed much to be set up again among the ruins of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, contrary to the law of Mahomet his prophet. I think that the Soldan of our times is as another King Cyrus, who, albeit he was a Gentile, yet permitted the Jews to rebuild the Temple of the Lord in Jerusalem which Nebuchadnezzar had cast down. Of this Cyrus, King of Persia, we read in Esdras i., and in Isaiah xlvi.¹ Neither is this Cyrus said to have done this of himself, but God raised up his spirit, as we read in Chron. ii. last chapter, and the first Book of Esdras. Even so in truth the Soldan, moved by the Spirit of God, gave leave to repair the holy places, and would give leave to do much more did not the railing enemies of the Christians turn him away from his purpose, even as it happened to Ezra, as we read in the fifth (?) chapter of Isaiah, and throughout the whole Books of Nehemiah and Ezra. Nor should we believe, as many do, that the Soldan is chiefly moved by the love of money, and of the gain which he receives from the pilgrims, in that he suffers the churches of the Christians to be repaired, but he doth so in the main by the inspiration of God, albeit he knows nothing thereof. Did

¹ Esdras i., *passim*, Isaiah xliv. 28.

God not act thus, the Saracens would on no account suffer the churches to stand, nor would they suffer pilgrims to roam about the land as they do, not even if a great sum of money were given to them, for the hate which they bear toward us far exceeds the love which they have for the money which they expect from us, which is little enough. Neither doth the king and Soldan receive one penny of that money, but only some men in office, and even they are not able to live a life of luxury thereon. Wherefore we ought to give thanks to God for having turned the heart of the Soldan toward us, and we ought to pray for the life of the king and Soldan, even as we read that the Jews used to pray for the lives of the Gentile kings—Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus, Artaxerxes, and Antiochus—in the first chapter of the Book of Baruch. The results show that the Soldan is inclined to our faith, nor do I doubt that were some sage, eloquent and powerful Christian to direct toward him that prayer wherewith the venerable Master Nicholaus de Cusa addresses him in Book III., ch. 17 of his translation of the Alcoran, he would turn himself to the better way. But Christians ought to pray for him, as is made clear on page 249 *b*.

THE CHRISTIANS OF VARIOUS RITES WHO ARE ESTABLISHED IN THE CHURCH AT BETHLEHEM.

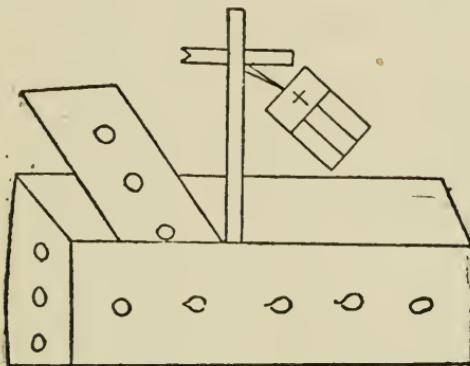
This church at Bethlhem is in its upper part profaned and desecrated, nor has it one single lamp in its upper part, neither in the choir nor in the nave nor in the chapels, but it stands like a barn [*b*] without hay, an apothecary's shop without pots of drugs, or a library without books; the precious pictures are dropping from the walls, and there is no one to restore them. Yet we are thankful that the body of the church is still standing. Now, the church is divided among Christians according to the division of

their rites, as hath been aforesaid touching the church of Golgotha, on page 133 *a*, and the church of the blessed Virgin, page 144 *b*. The Greeks have the choir; the Latins have the cave of the Lord's Nativity; the Armenians have the altar at the place where the three kings made their offerings. Nothing in that church is consecrated or illumined with lamps, save the cave of the Lord's Nativity. Whenever I have been at Bethlehem I have performed divine service in this cave as follows: First, I have performed the canonical hours according to the rule of our breviary, after which, in the second place, I began to say the hours of the Lord's Nativity, and the three masses which are said on the Day of the Lord's Nativity on three consecutive days. In the cave I said the first mass one day at midnight, '*Dominus dixit ad me*,' etc.; on the second day, '*Lux fulgebit in Aurora*,' etc.; and on the following day the third, '*In clara luce puer natus est*.' For God allowed me to remain so long a time in that place that I was able to perform the aforesaid services. May I be thankful to God therefor.

THE DEPARTURE OF THE PILGRIMS FROM BETHLEHEM, AND THEIR ENTRANCE INTO JERUSALEM.

When we had finished our visit to Bethlehem, we mounted our asses, and departed thence. When we were come to the side of the town, lo! a dead woman was being carried out for burial, and all the Saracens, both men and women, attended her with wondrous and horrible cries and howls, and held their hands closed and clasped together above their heads. When our guides saw them, they understood what it was, and suddenly with shouts and threats drove us aside out of the road, lest it should come to pass that we and the mourners should meet together, for we were marked with the sign of the cross, and had

we come against them wearing our crosses, the devil would have stirred up a dreadful quarrel, for without doubt they would have risen against us, and driven us away from them with stones, out of respect for the dead woman. For they think that their dead are especially angry with us, and that our wandering about the Holy Land causes them to be punished in the world to come. They would willingly suffer us to dwell among them were it not that they say that their dead cannot abide us. So we entered into Jerusalem to rest, as I have said on page 176 *b*.



THE SECOND ENTRY OF THE PILGRIMS INTO THE LORD'S
SEPULCHRE, THE MAKING OF KNIGHTS THEREIN,
AND THE PRAISE OF THAT KNIGHTHOOD.

On the seventeenth day, which is that of St. Alexius the Confessor, on the evening before, when we had come from Bethlehem, we were all called to the courtyard of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. So we made haste, and came down to the church, where we found many Saracens also, and merchants, but we could find nothing eatable for sale, as we had done before; and at this we were vexed, because we were tired with our journey, and had had but

¹ Wherever this figure is inserted, it means that Fabri and his companions passed a night in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

little time for rest, and had come down thither faster than we should otherwise have done, in the hope that we should find food in the courtyard, which we could eat in the church, but no one offered it. I know not how it came to pass, or who managed, that the Saracen lords, guardians of the church, should have proclaimed throughout the city that no one was to bring food for the pilgrims. I thought in my heart that perhaps this had been done at the instance of the venerable Father Guardian to check the unseemly behaviour of the pilgrims, some of whom would sit all night eating and drinking in the church, like those Corinthians whom the Apostle (*i Cor. ii.*) praises in all things, save in that each of them presumed to eat his own supper in church, and there was a difference among them, for one was hungry and another was drunken. Even so was it among the pilgrims, some of whom stuffed themselves with food, while others fasted; and so it was a virtuous precaution that no food should be forthcoming.

When we were all collected together, the Moorish lords opened the doors of the holy church, and let us go in after the fashion which is told on page 108 *a*. There entered with us likewise the brethren of Mount Sion, among whom there entered with us that eminent man, John of Prussia, of whom I have spoken before, who is the procurator of the brethren of Mount Sion, and who is a secular in position, but a regular (monk) in habit and life, for he of his own choice makes use of the habit of the third order of St. Francis—albeit, he hath not taken the vow to obey its rule. This man is of noble birth, of a family of the rank of count, and is a German of the country of Prussia. He is of tall stature, with a long beard, and of a seemly presence, with venerable gray hair. He is exceeding wise, and of great experience, of quiet habits, conscientious, and Godfearing. I give this good man this praise not

from hearsay, but from certain knowledge. He hath the authority of our lord the Pope, and our lord the Emperor, and the favour of the kings and princes of Christendom, for creating and dubbing knights all noble pilgrims who come to the Holy Sepulchre of the Lord [b]. He is, moreover, known to the lord Soldan, who treats him with high respect. He is also respected by Naylon, who is the governor of the city of Jerusalem, and Sabathytanco and Elphahallo the Calini and dragomans all know and reverence him; wherefore to him the lords of the land have granted leave to set the holy places in order with drystone walls and the like, save that he does not dare to build walls (with mortar). This man has gained leave to have the ruins of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and of the church in Bethlehem, repaired, and he has such authority in Jerusalem that even the Saracens and Jews fear him, and children hide themselves from him. And I declare of a truth that there are two men in Jerusalem, aged and stricken in years, who are of exceeding use both to the holy places and to the pilgrims, and I cannot conceive how pilgrims will manage in Jerusalem after their death. I should be very sorry to be a pilgrim in Jerusalem if they were not there. One of these men is the aforesaid Brother John. The other is Elphahallo, a Saracen, the lesser Calinus, a good man, of whom I shall speak in his place.

Now, when the procession had been formed and had been completed, and brought to an end in the manner which is told on page 110 *a*, the aforesaid Brother John, at one hour before midnight, called together to him all the noble pilgrims who wished to receive knighthood into the church of Golgotha—that is to say, into the choir where is the middle of the world, as is told on page 117 *a*, and, having ranged the counts, barons, and nobles before him, began to tell them of the laws of this knighthood.

In the first place he forbade that anyone should presume to come to receive this knighthood unless he be proved to be noble by four descents : of sufficient substance, just, of good report, and not disgraced by any infamous misdemeanour. He declared that should any unfit person present himself before him and be dubbed a knight, that such dubbing would be invalid, and that such a man ought not in any wise to be counted as a knight, but as a mocker and insulter and scorner of nobility. Finally, he charged them that they should draw near to receive their knighthood in the fear of God and with reverence ; that they should in all things obey the Pope and the Emperor, by whose authority this honour was conferred upon them ; that they should defend the Catholic Church, and maintain its rights ; that they should protect and fight on behalf of bishops, monks, all religious persons and ecclesiastics, their lands and their goods ; that they should rule the commonwealth peaceably, that they should deal justly with orphans, widows, strangers, and the poor ; and that they should console all faithful people in distress by affording them help when called upon. Furthermore, he forbade them to make any treaties whatsoever with the infidels, but charged them to drive them as far away from Christendom as possible, and, above all, to labour with all their strength to the end that the Holy Land and the most Holy Sepulchre might be torn from the hands of the infidels ; and that they should urge upon all kings, princes, dukes, counts, marquises, and other men of the sword, to come as soon as they were able to succour the Holy Land, and that they should stir up the minds of all men to help it, and should make it their business with all diligence to set forth to the faithful the piteous captivity of the Sepulchre, and that they themselves should hold themselves in readiness at all hours to set out to fight for the Holy Land.

[184 a] After the brother had said all this and much more, he entered into the little cabin of the Lord's monument, and all the nobles followed him, standing before the door of the monument. He had the names of all the nobles who wished to receive knighthood written down according to their rank, and it was in this order that he conferred knighthood upon them.

First, therefore, he called to him the noble Lord John, Count of Solms, into the inner cave of the Lord's monument, wherein is the most holy tomb, and girded the sword of knighthood upon his thigh, tied the spurs of knighthood on his feet, and bade him bow himself down upon his bended knees before the Lord's tomb in such sort that his knees rested upon the pavement, and his breast and arms lay upon the lid of the tomb. He being thus kneeling, the aforesaid Brother John took from its sheath the sword wherewith the count was girded, and with the blade thereof smote him thrice upon the shoulders in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. After this had been done he raised up the count, loosed the sword and the spurs from him, kissed him, and respectfully said: 'May it be for thy good.' He being thus made a knight, the brother called a noble baron, my Lord John Werner of Zimmern, and gave the sword and the spurs to the count, that he might dub the baron knight, which he did. After this there entered my Lord Heinrich, Baron of Stöffel, whom the Baron John of Zimmern dubbed knight. By the former my Lord John the Truchsess was dubbed knight, and he dubbed knight my Lord Ursus of Hohenrechberg, who came in after him. When these had all received knighthood and had left the place the other nobles also received their knighthood in turn according to their rank. In my first pilgrimage Brother John dubbed all the nobles knights with his own hand, because

there were none who were above the rest in rank as nobles, but all were equal. He did this because one equal doth not dub his coequal a knight, even as one equal hath no right or lordship over his coequal. But when princes, marquises, counts, barons and nobles come thither, then John first dubs the chief man among them himself, and afterwards he dubs him that cometh next, and so on down to the lowest in rank of the nobles, who beg to be dubbed by those lords whose squires they are, or to whose service they especially belong. If, however, there be any devout men who receive knighthood out of piety, and yet do not wish to bear its ensigns in their own country, such men are not dubbed by princes or by the rest of fellows, but they offer themselves to Brother John. So at that hour all the nobles were made knights, and every one of them as he received knighthood made some considerable offering to Brother John, each man, according to his means, giving some ten ducats, some eight, some six, and some five for the repair of the holy sepulchre and the church, and the honour of the holy places, and the maintenance of the brethren who watch over the holy sepulchre, and the keeping alight of the lamps, and for other purposes for which the aforesaid Brother John knows it to be needful.

[b] THE PRAISE OF THE KNIGHTHOOD OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE, AND THE PRE-EMINENCE OF THOSE KNIGHTS ABOVE ALL THE KNIGHTS IN THE WORLD.

From ancient times the high spirit of noblemen hath not remained content with the provinces bequeathed by their parents and ancestors, but hath been commonly wont to busy itself in raising up fresh titles to grace their name. Ancient historians tell us how Hannibal, the noblest of the Africans, came from Carthage into the land of Italy, and how by the might of his own valour he brought Rome

and many provinces under his own dominion. So also Perseus Tacius (*sic*), the father of the nobility of Greece, flew across the sea on a winged horse, entered Persia, and conquered it. So also Alexander, who was powerful by his wealth and great by his noble birth, passed through the countries of the world and brought them all into subjection to himself, and even then did not rest content, but meditated extending the bounds of his empire beyond this world ; and so we read of many others who have not been contented with their own countries, and have gone forth to do great deeds. Such men as these stay not for rest, and give up no time to sleep, but toil in unceasing struggles and mighty labours. Howbeit, to take examples from the noblemen of modern times, let us behold the glorious army of our pilgrim nobles now graced with the order of knighthood, who, indeed, in their own cities, towns, hamlets, castles, villages, and estates, might have overflowed with riches, lived in luxury, quietly enjoyed their fiefs, and taken part in merry games, been spectators of theatrical shows, engaged in bold encounters, tiltings and tourneyings, in hunting and dancing, or dwelt in peaceful devotion to Ceres, Bacchus, and Venus. But they held it to be but vain to follow indolence, and to be vicious to devote their minds to the aforesaid pursuits ; wherefore, obeying their reason, they with eager desire raised themselves to the highest rank of knightly service, and that not of any common knighthood, but of the most noble and excellent which can be obtained in this world—that is, the Knighthood of the Holy Sepulchre, which is the best and noblest of all knighthood. This can be proved by many arguments, which are now given.

Firstly, because this knighthood is more holy, seeing that it is received when in the act of a righteous service, for it is received on the bended knees in the act of revering

the holy sepulchre, and there is no nobleman who says that he came to Jerusalem chiefly on account of knighthood, but chiefly on account of his veneration for the places wherein our redemption was wrought—an act which pertains to the service of God, an act of holy virtue. Indeed, they say, and I have often heard it said by knights, that if the holy places were not in Jerusalem they never would cross the seas—no, not if they could obtain a thousand knighthoods there ; but it is the holy places which move them to journey thither, wherefore this knighthood is more holy than any others.

Secondly, this knighthood is the most holy, because it is conferred in the most holy place in all the world, in this spot where our Lord Jesus Christ rose from the dead.

Thirdly, this knighthood is the most spiritual of all, because it is only conferred upon those who are of a contrite heart, who have confessed their sins, and have been strengthened by the sacrament of the Eucharist in a spiritual place by a spiritual person and humble friar.

Fourthly, it is the most virtuous of all, because this knighthood is not alloyed with any vices. For other knighthoods have jealousy, anger, envy, pride, and many other vices connected with them, but this is in itself altogether virtuous.

Fifthly, this knighthood is the most becoming of all. For of a truth it is most becoming that a Christian, desiring to become a knight, should receive knighthood on that field whereon his King overcame His most powerful enemy. By ‘Our King’ I mean Christ, and by ‘field’ the place Golgotha, whereon he laid low the devil.

Sixthly, this Knighthood of the Holy Sepulchre is purer and cleaner and more innocent than any other, for it is not defiled with any human blood, like other orders of knighthood, which as a rule are exceeding unclean, being

given whenever a great shedding of human blood is at hand. And, which is worse than all these, men gain knighthood by the shedding of human Christian blood, the blood of their brethren. Oh, accursed is that knighthood, and displeasing to God! David, the holy king, was not suffered to build the Temple of the Lord, because he was a man of war, and had shed much human blood, as we read in 1 Chron. xxii. 8. Yet it is to be noted, that he only shed the blood of the uncircumcised and infidels, and he shed their blood at the command of the Lord God. If, then, the blood of idolaters could make that holy man unclean, so that he could not build a temple, what will the most noble blood of faithful Christians do?—how great uncleanness will it cause in him who sheds it! Doth it not render a knight defiled and unclean? Our innocent knighthood of Jerusalem is not thus stained with Christian blood, but rather purifies the knight, that Christian blood may be defended (by him); for they receive knighthood in the place where the most innocent blood of Christ was shed for all men. Wherfore they abhor the shedding of any human blood, unless they be forced to shed guilty blood in defence of the blood of Christ.

Seventhly, this knighthood is the most reasonable of all, for reason dictates that there should be some among the Christian people to defend the Faith with their swords, to check iniquity with arms, and to compel the froward to come in by force. This is the duty of the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre, as hath been set forth already; and no mention is made of these duties when men receive knighthood in other places.

Eighthly, this knighthood is the most kindly of all, for men are not created knights at Jerusalem to anyone's hurt. Other knights are created to fight their enemies, and to work another's hurt in divers ways.

Ninthly, this knighthood is the most toilsome of all. For who can describe the labours of a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre, which he undergoes not in order to win his knighthood, but for the honour of God and the salvation of his soul?

Tenthly, this knighthood is the most dangerous of all, for toil without danger is but little valued, but a little toil with much labour is thought to be a great thing. Now, both of these are to be found in our knighthood, both great toil and great danger, as the whole story of my wanderings proves.

Eleventhly, this knighthood of ours is the most painful of all, for it is gained [b] through many miseries and much tribulation, even though the pilgrim hath his purse full of money.

Twelfthly, this knighthood of Jerusalem is wiser, because of the various experiences which a man undergoeth therein. A nobleman who sets out for Jerusalem gains much experience about the way of the world at sea and on either side of the sea, about the customs of men and their differences ; for he receives knowledge both of the faithful and of infidels, because he sees and dwells with Christians, Turks, Saracens, Mamelukes, Tartars, Arabs, Jews, Samaritans, Moors, Greeks, Nubians, Jacobites, Abyssinians or Indians, Georgians, Armenians, Hungarians, Dalmatians, Pannonians, Achæans, Italians, Gauls, Angles, Teutons, and, in short, he gains knowledge about men of all lands, both Eastern and Western, if he be a man of reflection. Moreover, he who would gain this noble knighthood learns by experience who is a friend and who is an enemy ; he learns to distinguish between liars and honest men ; he finds out the difference between what is well and what is ill ; and discovers what is meant by good fortune and bad fortune, by virtue and vice ; and how

great the difference is between a good and a bad man. He likewise receives an experience worth more than all the aforesaid, in that while on this pilgrimage a man begins to know himself intimately, and to understand his own wisdom and folly, his various passions and desires, his likes and dislikes, his virtues and vices. I say of a truth, that in forty weeks of this pilgrimage a man learns to know himself better than in forty years elsewhere. I confess that I never saw my own shortcomings and vices better or more clearly than during these my wanderings, more especially when at sea in the galley, or in the desert in a tent, for in these places no part of a man's character remains concealed. I am sure that my comrades and my noble lords know me and all my habits better than the brethren of my order, with whom I have dwelt for thirty years, and that I know those knights better than their wives, their parents, their sons, or their servants do. For in these hardships and adventures of pilgrims no one can keep to himself, but all his secret thoughts are shown in deeds in their turn, for there is continual action to call them forth. Other knights, such as are dubbed in the courts of kings, or on the bridge of Tiber, or on the battlefield, receive few experiences.

Thirteenthly, our knighthood is more worthy than others, because Knights of the Holy Sepulchre are given the first place by all men, both spiritual and temporal.

Fourteenthly, it is of greater power and greater authority than others, because it is conferred by the authority of our most holy father the Pope, and our most serene lord the Emperor, whereas other men are sometimes created knights in defiance of the Pope, and in defiance of the Emperor, or apart from them, and without their sanction and knowledge; wherefore they are of no authority.

Fifteenthly, our knighthood is more noble than any

other, and ennobles other knighthoods, whereas the converse is not true. I have seen many who had been made knights by the Emperor, and on the battle-field, and who nevertheless did not care to bear the ensigns of their knighthood until [186 a] they were dubbed knights in the holy sepulchre. I know one nobleman, whom the Emperor dubbed a knight at one battle, and the King of Hungary at another, and the King of Bohemia at a third, who nevertheless always gave himself out as a simple nobleman, until he was dubbed knight for the fourth time in the Lord's sepulchre, after which he came home, and displayed the ensigns of knighthood, and is at this day a magnificent knight, who rides with many followers.

Sixteenthly, our knighthood is the most admirable of all, for all men feel some sort of admiration for a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre, because he hath received his knighthood in the midst of infidel Saracens, and in the Lord's sepulchre.

Seventeenthly, this knighthood is the most worshipful, for Knights of the Holy Sepulchre have precedence of all others in walking, standing, sitting, speaking, washing of hands, eating, and so forth.

Eighteenthly, our knighthood is the most distinguished of all, for whensoever a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre begins to speak of his knighthood, of the place thereof, and of the adventures which besell him, all men fix their eyes upon him, and with open mouths listen to what he saith.

Nineteenthly, our knighthood is the most acceptable of all, for Knights of the Holy Sepulchre are acceptable both to nobles and commons, whereas they care but little for other knights—nay, abhor them for cruel, savage, and terrible men.

Twentiethly, our knighthood is the most manly of all,

for it is a small thing to have once broken through the line of the enemy, or to have looked the foe in the face, but it is much to have frequently been in deadly peril, as is the case in our knighthood.

Twenty-firstly, this knighthood is more active than any other, because it needs a man of valour all round.

Twenty-secondly, our knighthood is more righteous than any other, for all other knighthoods have certain injustices and wickednesses connected with them, whereas this is founded upon justice, both human and Divine, and is regulated by laws made by the Emperor and the Pope.

Twenty-thirdly, our knighthood is more approved and established than any other, for it frequently happens that those who are made knights in one place are not recognised as knights by others, but are laughed at, and called lady-knights, and pussy-cat knights; and in war neither party recognises as knights those who have been dubbed by the other side to fight against it. Now, there is nothing of all this in our knighthood, but all are recognised as knights.

Twenty-fourthly, our knighthood is the most ancient of all, for ever since the Passion of Christ those who have crossed the seas out of devotion to the holy places have been held to be knights.

Twenty-fifthly, this knighthood is more to be desired than any other, which is proved by the fact that those who have been dubbed knights elsewhere do not remain content therewith, but covet our knighthood in addition to that which they have received. Moreover, a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre glows with so warm a love thereto that he longs to return to the place where he received his knighthood; indeed, those who have been in the Holy Land usually wish to return thither, nor can any perils

restrain them. This is not so in other orders of knighthood.

Twenty-sixthly, our knighthood is the most strict in its rules, for the ancient rule of this knighthood was, that no one should receive it unless he were noble by four descents, and illustrious in all his family [*b*]. Howbeit, this rule is not strictly observed at the present day, but base-born men are dubbed knights as well as nobles, even as in other orders of knighthood.

Twenty-seventhly, our knighthood is the most humble and long-suffering of all. Other knights do not deign to consort with plain men who are not of noble birth, and grudge any good fortune which befalls their inferiors. Not so the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre, who despise no man, suffer all men to travel in their company, and reject none ; for they sail across the sea to Jerusalem in company with monks, priests, merchants, mechanics, and poor beggars — nay, they even cross in company with women, both young and old, with Beguines and nuns, and heed not the foolish sneers of their detractors, who say that the Knighthood of the Holy Sepulchre is womanish, because of the old women in whose company it is gained. They are not ashamed of the society of these old women — nay, they delight therein, and take credit to themselves for receiving their temporal knighthood in the place where nuns, Beguines, and old women, monks and priests, and all manner of devout persons seek for help in their spiritual warfare, and for increase of the grace of God.

Twenty-eighthly, our knighthood is the hardest of all, for at the courts of kings and princes and on battle-fields knighthood is conferred with somewhat of triumph and rejoicing, and brings with it sundry advantages, whereas this is all grave and penitential, bearing with it no joys or advantages, but much tribulation.

Twenty-ninthly, this knighthood demands greater courage than any other, for he who boldly crosses the sea risks his life more than he who goes to the wars, for this latter goes protected by armour, and can guard himself against dangers, and in the last resort can flee and seek shelter, whereas the Knight of the Holy Sepulchre has no help of this sort against the dangers which beset him both by sea and by land ; for when among the infidels he must bear himself as though he had no feelings, and make no return to those who strike him, so that he might truly say, as it is written in the Book of Proverbs, xxiii. 35, ‘They have stricken me, shalt thou say, and I was not sick ; they have beaten me, and I felt it not.’ See page 77 *b*.

Thirtiethly, this knighthood is more distant than any other, being given in the middle of the world ; and those knights who go to St. Catharine’s touch the three principal parts of the world—Europe, whence they go forth ; Asia, which they pass through ; and Africa, which they touch in the parts about Alexandria. Other knights stay near home for their service.

Thirty-firstly, our knighthood is the most equal and uniform, for other knights, even when dubbed in the same war, boast themselves, and one exalts himself before another, and some are preferred before others by men as being better knights, and having deserved the honour of knighthood better than they, and ofttimes in kings’ courts they quarrel terribly with one another about these matters ; now our knighthood of Jerusalem is free from all these squabbles and ignoble boastings, because all earn it by the same means, and a nobleman who is created a knight is no less a knight than is a king who is dubbed there.

Thirty-secondly, this knighthood of ours is universal, in that all noblemen are dubbed there, whether they be from the East or the West, old or young.

Thirty - thirdly, this knighthood of ours is the least perilous to the soul, seeing that all that is done at Jerusalem is righteous and sacred, which is far from being the case with others.

Thirty-fourthly, it is honourable to all men, for these knights are honoured by the Emperor, by kings, princes, counts, and barons, and likewise by the Pope, by cardinals, bishops, and all the clergy and religious, by the common people, by old and young alike.

Thirty-fifthly, our knighthood is of higher price than the others, seeing that it is gained for a greater price, and with much expense, especially if the knight makes the pilgrimage to St. Catharine's. And although in other knighthoods more money may be spent, yet it is spent in vain, or in worldly pomps and vanities, or in extravagance, none of which finds any place in our knighthood.

Thirty-sixthly, our knighthood is better disciplined than any other, for we commonly see that Knights of the Holy Sepulchre are more modest and orderly, more serious and better bred than knights made in the wars.

Thirty-seventhly, our knighthood is the most fruitful in many ways and fashions, for in our knighthood a knight even though without books studies many of the things done in both the Old and the New Testament while he is being taken round the holy places. Hence it comes to pass that these knights as a general rule speak more often, more distinctly, and with greater knowledge, about the histories to be found in the Bible, about the Lord's Passion, and so forth, than many priests. This is set forth on page 9^a. A knight in the Holy Land is made wise by many experiences, as is set forth in the twenty-seventh article ; moreover, he is rendered contrite there, he confesses his sins, and receives indulgences in abundance, from all of which much fruit results in all things.

Thirty-eighthly, our knighthood is the most faithful of all, because as a rule Knights of the Holy Sepulchre are exceeding steadfast, and good catholics, for they see with their eyes that our faith is more reasonable and more righteous than that of any others, whereas in other orders of knighthood no heed is taken of this aforesaid faith.

Thirty-ninthly, it is clear from all that hath been said that our knighthood is more deserving of eternal life than any other, whereas other knights not only do not earn this life, but render themselves unfit for it, since as a rule sinful acts are needed to obtain their knighthood.

Fortiethly, and lastly, our knighthood of Jerusalem is a happy knighthood, for a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre is, indeed, happy while on a pilgrimage, because, should he die on the way, he flies to heaven straightway, and does not enter purgatory. On this point see St. Thomas Aquinas, in Qu. v., Qu. vii., 7. ar. 2. Moreover, like as he is happy who beholds God in the heavenly Jerusalem which is above, so also in his own way he is happy who imitates the mysteries of heaven in the Jerusalem upon earth. And as he is happy who beholdeth Christ in glory, and the most blessed Virgin Mary, the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, even so he is happy who retraces and kisses the footsteps of Christ and the blessed Virgin, of the prophets and the apostles. Furthermore, as he is happy who hath a sure and certain hope of happiness, even so he who beholdeth the earthly Jerusalem is happy, for it is written that they who for the glory of God have visited and beheld the holy city of Jerusalem shall certainly and without doubt enter the heavenly Jerusalem, and shall there behold in His majesty the King whom they have sought in the manger, on the cross, and in the sepulchre in the Jerusalem upon earth. What the truth of this saying may be I know not; nevertheless, I hope. By all

these arguments the pre-eminence of the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre above all other is proved. St. Bernard wrote a long sermon addressed to these knights of Jerusalem, wherein he describes their knightly life and conversation, and reprobates the vices of carnal knights in the fourth chapter thereof.

THE DIVINE SERVICE HELD THAT NIGHT IN THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

The creation or dubbing of knights in the Lord's Sepulchre is performed in the manner set forth on page 184 *b*. Now, it took a long time before they were all dubbed, and we could not celebrate masses before the dubbing was over; howbeit, we all watched and roamed round the holy places with lights. Indeed, I had arranged that on that night my watching and fasting, and my prayers and devotions which, alas! were lukewarm, wearisome, and almost useless, should be given on behalf of those to whom I had promised that I would remember them when I was at the holy places, and on behalf of my most beloved brethren and my benefactors, who had held out helping hands to me by subscribing toward my expenses in journeying to these most holy places. So during the time that the knights were being dubbed I went up to the holy hill of Calvary, lighted a candle, and sat down with ink in front of me close by the most holy rock wherein the cross once stood bearing Him crucified, and there I wrote down the names of all whom I had especially promised, and all for whom I was in duty bound to pray. Having written down all the names as in litanies, I went with the paper to the holy rock, and there, kneeling on my knees, I laid the paper on the holy rock, and offered a prayer for each person whose name was written thereon, and for others whose names occurred to my memory, with such

poor measure of devotion as God was graciously pleased to grant to me a most miserable sinner, beseeching God that by virtue of that most efficacious prayer once offered at that place on the cross He might be pleased to accept this my imperfect prayer, if not because of my own merits, then at any rate because of the merits of those persons, both quick and dead, for whom I had agreed to pray. After this I went down to the other holy places with the paper and spread it out upon those most holy places, praying for those whose names were written therein both generally and one by one.

Midnight was now past, and as the business of the knights was over we began to say masses in the four places mentioned on page 110 under article vi. On that morning I had the place of the Lord's anointing, and at mass I kept the paper with the names of my dear ones lying before me, and performed the mass itself on their behalf. When day broke we sang high mass in the sepulchre of the Lord's resurrection, as will be seen below, page 180 *b* (*sic*), and so ended this service.

Now, when everything was finished, and we were waiting for the Moorish lords to let us out, lo! of a sudden strife and quarrelling arose among the newly-made knights, and a serious riot, caused by one of the pilgrims having thrust himself in and been dubbed a knight, albeit he was for many reasons unfit; indeed, he was a good and merry comrade, but of too low estate to bear the dignity of knighthood. The pilgrim knights, counts, and barons reproved this man for his over-boldness, while other knights his comrades defended him, and so they stood wrangling with one another in the holy church. Howbeit, when the cause was explained to Brother John, who has been mentioned on page 183 *b*, he summoned all the knights into the church of Golgotha before the high altar, and

adjured him on whose account the strife had arisen, and all his companions, in the name of God, that they should tell him the rank and position of that man. After he had heard them the aforesaid Brother John pronounced that he was in no wise a knight, nor to be held as such. So this matter was [188 a] settled and ended peaceably, and that good fellow was stripped of his knighthood. Now, straightway while we were still speaking of this matter the Moors came and turned us out of the church, and we went to our own quarters to eat and rest. On this occasion I did not go up to Mount Sion with the brethren, but was begged by the newly-made knights my lords to stay with them that day in the hospital and preach a sermon to them in praise of the holy knighthood, which I did in manner following, albeit in the vulgar German tongue, seeing that they were laymen and ignorant of Latin.

AN EXHORTATION TO THE KNIGHTS TO PERFORM
THAT TO WHICH THEY HAD PLEDGED THEMSELVES
WHEN THEY RECEIVED KNIGHTHOOD IN THE HOLY
SEPULCHRE.

Devout zeal and love towards Almighty God hath stirred you up, my most worthy knights, so that, like the great-hearted gentlemen that you are, you have been attracted towards your Redeemer's grave, and made to think it a pleasant thing that you should hazard the loss of your own possessions by leaving the country of your birth to seek these foreign and holy lands. Herein you have been moved by your pious intention of worshipping and kissing these most holy places, of receiving indulgences, and taking upon yourselves the sacrament of knighthood, to the end that in that holy service you may faithfully fight until death against the enemies of the faith, the contemners of the cross, and the foes of the church of

God. Wherefore, I pray and beseech you, abide steadfast in this your pious intention, and whereas you have brought your souls into divers perils to the end that you might obtain this knighthood, now mansfully devote them to carrying it out, strive with your whole strength to fulfil all those promises which you made when you undertook to be knights, and day by day renew this spirit within your minds, that you may ever be clothed with the new man, who is created according to God's will, and be protected by the whole armour of God, whereby you may stand fast against the wiles of the devil. Let your hearts, I pray you, be kindled like fires with zeal for those things which are of God, more especially to succour the necessities of the Lord's sepulchre and of this Holy Land ; let your affections be inflamed by the heat of pious thoughts, and fight the battle of the Lord with the hope of succour from on high. Let every one of you gird his mighty sword upon his thigh to avenge the wrongs offered to God. Lo ! your eyes bhold at the present time how the goodly heritage of our Saviour, alas ! hath fallen among strangers, and how the most holy place where the Virgin mother bore the King of Heaven, the place stained with our Redeemer's most precious blood, the place which hath been honoured by the laying therein of the foundation of the Lord's sepulchre, and the place which Christ, risen from the dead, hath in manifold ways rendered famous by the glory of His resurrection, hath been brought under the sway of strange peoples. Unless his breast were of iron or his heart of adamant, who is there whose bowels would not yearn for this land ? Who would not be roused from the bottom of his heart ? Who would not be kindled into wrath and be inspired to courage, that he might wreak the vengeance which is due ? God forbid that a soldier of the holy sepulchre should leave his arms for the rust

to eat. God forbid that he should grudge his life to the victory, seeing that the victors cannot fail of winning the crown of glory ; for look you how safely and how blessedly the soldiers of Christ fight the battles of their Lord and of His bride, the Church, when they take arms against the infidels, seeing that they need not either fear to sin in slaying the enemy, or to suffer peril by their own death, since death ought both to be given and taken for Christ's sake. Such a knight, I say, both slays his foe without sin, and dies with certain hope, because he gains a grave for himself when he dies, and for Christ when he slays, nor is he a homicide, but, if I may so speak, a *malicide* when he slays an evildoer, and is held to be a defender and vindicator of Christendom. A Christian rightfully glories in the death of a pagan, because Christ is glorified therein. Wherefore rouse yourselves, most valiant knights, and rise up to avenge the insults offered to our God and the shame of the people of Christendom, even as did those most doughty Maccabees of old, and make it your aim to slay or put to flight the infidels, and bring back the heritage of the Lord into Christendom. Every man avenges wrongs done to his own vassals, and shall he not avenge such foul wrong as these when done to his God ? No one suffers the hands of trespassers to be laid upon the heritage of his own family, and shall he patiently suffer the heritage of the Lord to be held for so long a time by strangers ? Let not those who worship the cross overlook outrages offered to Him crucified, which they would rightly resent if offered to a man. Let the contempt cast upon your Redeemer stir up your minds and souls ; let zeal for His faith kindle your hearts, and God forbid that fear should hold you back from this glorious fight wherein victory and a crown of everlasting glory is always to be won.

Here ended the sermon. After I had finished the

sermon the knights thanked me very warmly, and declared that they were as willing as possible to recover the Holy Land, provided that the kings, princes, and leaders of Christendom would go before them burning with the same zeal, seeing that unless they bestirred themselves no one could make any useful movement in the matter, because so great a thing could only be done by all the peoples of the West together; even as when in the year of our Lord 802 the Emperor Charles the Great, at the invitation of Zacharias, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and of the Emperor of Constantinople, marched into the East with all the people of the West, and rescued the Holy City and all the land from the hands of the infidel Saracens. When they were lost a second time, and reoccupied by the Saracens, the Christians were cast out and exiled from the Holy Land for more than two hundred years; after which arose the never wearied and most glorious Duke of Lorraine, Godfrey of Bouillon, in the year of our Lord 1099, who collected together chosen warriors from all the West, fearlessly crossed both sea and land, and after great slaughter of the infidels reached Jerusalem, wherein were forty thousand armed Saracens, besides the common people. Our soldiers besieged the city for thirty-nine days, and when they took it the Christians fought with the infidels in what is called 'Solomon's Temple,' and its courtyards, revelling in slaughter to such a degree that they rode knee-deep in the blood of the slain. Thus by means of those most glorious knights [189 *a*] the sepulchre of the Lord came for the second time into the hands of its rightful owners, and remained with them for ninety-eight years, when at length, as help from the Western countries failed, and God was angry with Christian people for their sins, as hath been set forth on page 189 *a*, Jerusalem was again taken by the infidels, and continues to be held by them

even to this day, now for three hundred years down to this our own unhappy time. Well may I call this time of ours unhappy, wherein the evening of faith hath drawn in upon the world, and the chaos and night of wickedness abounds. The light of righteousness is waning ; scarce a shadow of its shade remains. Law hath departed from the priests, justice from princes, counsel from elders, faith from the people, love from parents, respect from servants, charity from prelates, religion from monks, honour from youth, discipline from the clergy, learning from teachers, study from laymen, equity from judges, defence from knights, concord from citizens, fear from serving men, fellowship from rustics, truth from merchants, virtue from nobles, chastity from maidens, lowliness from widows, love from wedded folk, modesty from women, patience from the poor, and so forth. So we wander blindly away from the true path, and headlong course through caverns of wickedness and the fields of the world, in foul darkness. Oh, how uncertain is the state of human affairs, and without Thee, O good God, how full of calamity are all the days of our life ! O evil times and evil manners ! Times of exceeding great disquiet ! times of disaster ! Wicked manners, abandoned manners, both among clergy and people ! Time whereof it hath been said, *Venit summa dies et in eluctabile tempus !**—time wherein, according to the old saying of the prophet, every head shall be weary, every heart shall be grieved, and from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head there shall be no health in it. It is, then, for our sins and for the iniquities of our forefathers that Jerusalem and the (blessed) land and the holy places, made subject to strange nations for our shame, are dis- honoured and trodden underfoot by dogs, and lo ! now for three hundred years have been profaned by traitors, and to

* Virg., *AEn.*, ii. 324.

the disgrace of the most holy name of Christ remain in the power of the accursed and blasphemous Saracens, altogether uncared for and neglected by us, and filled with great heresies and evils, doubtless because of our transgressions and negligences. Nor is it merely the duty of every devout Christian to mourn when he thinks of these misfortunes, but to betake himself to God with continual prayer, to cry aloud to God, and to beseech Him without ceasing that He may have compassion upon the remnant of His elect, and may lift up the light of His countenance upon us and pity us, and cast out the unbelievers from the land of the faithful, that we may joyfully render unto Him the praises which He hath deserved at our hands. Amen.

Whosoever will read a sorrowful sermon upon the desolate state of the Holy Land and the city of Jerusalem, a piteous mourning over the Eastern Church, a sad lamentation over the vicious and most unhappy position of the Western Church, and an exhortation addressed to the kings, princes, and nobles of the West, let him look at the book of the pilgrimage of the Lord Bernhard von Braitenbach, dean of the cathedral church at Mainz, which hath been written in ornate style by that celebrated doctor of divinity, Master Martin Roth, regent of the school of Heidelberg, and monk of the Order of Preaching Friars. There he will find clearly set forth all that I have said before; he will find what I have expressed in many words put into few, and will find a duplicate of my book of pilgrimage and wandering, with the exception that sometimes I have been forced by the plan of my work purposely to alter the days, saying, ‘This was done on such a day,’ whereas he says that it was done on another day; wherein there is no violence or discrepancy, seeing that when we read the Scriptures we find the same thing to have been done by the Evangelists.

OF THE DIVINE SERVICE IN THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE, AND THE CASTING OUT OF THE PILGRIMS FROM THENCE.

[b] Meanwhile, as the knights had been dubbed, we began to celebrate and perform divine service. I was given the place of the Lord's anointing, and celebrated the mass of St. Alexius, whose festival it was, because he was a true pilgrim ; and when it was broad daylight, we sang in the Lord's sepulchre a most joyous service of the Lord's Resurrection, as it is sung on Easter Day. After this the Saracens came and turned us out in the manner which is told on page 21 *b*, and every man went home to his own place ; and we passed the following night on the Mount of Olives, but secretly, praying and resting ourselves in the grotto of Mary's agony ; but before it was bright daylight we went up again to Mount Sion to hear masses.

THE JOURNEY OF THE PILGRIMS FROM JERUSALEM INTO THE HILL-COUNTRY OF JUDÆA, TO THE HOUSE OF ZACHARIAH, WHERE MARY GREETED HER KINSMAN ELIZABETH.

On the eighteenth day, early in the morning, our guides came to the Mount with our asses and their drivers, and called together all the pilgrims. We all mounted our asses, rode out of Jerusalem to the southward in a great hurry, and went by steep roads into the hill-country of Judæa. This mountainous country is rough and stony, but yet is fruitful, and full of fruit-trees, figs and olives. Herein we came to a house standing on high ground, great and tall, but in ruins, which they say was the house of the holy old man Simeon, who took up Christ in his arms in the Temple of the Lord (Luke ii.). This house hath many vaulted chambers, and from the top of it there is a view of

Jerusalem and of Bethlehem. Beside this house we sang the hymn of Simeon, ‘Lord, now lettest thou thy servant,’ etc., and received indulgences (†). From hence we went down into an exceeding fertile valley to a sloping place between dry stone walls. It was upon this mountain that the valiant Maccabees built an exceeding strong fortress to drive back the invading Gentiles, and called it Bethsura, which means the ‘bitter house,’ or ‘the house of courage,’ whereof we read in *i Maccabees*, chs. iv. and vi. This fortress was taken by stratagem by the younger Antiochus, who from thence greatly annoyed the Jews, as is told in the second book of *Maccabees*, chs. xi. and xiii.

On another side of the mountain is the well wherein Philip baptized the eunuch, as will be told in its place.

From Bethsura there is a view of Jerusalem, and in time of war they who dwelt in Bethsura could make signals to them who were in the citadel of Sion, and they back again. So now we turned our backs to Bethsura and went down the valley.

THE FOUNTAIN OF THE MOST BLESSED VIRGIN MARY.

After a pretty long descent we came to a place between two little hills, where in the midst of them a fountain gushes forth with cool, clear, and wholesome waters, which runs through the whole valley, moistening it and rendering it fertile, so that it is of great use to that country. They say that it was through the merits of the blessed Virgin Mary that this fountain first sprang forth in her presence when she came up from Nazareth and served Elizabeth for three months. The blessed Virgin wished to get water to carry it to Elizabeth, who was pregnant, for use both in the upper and the lower house; for Zacharias was a rich priest, and had a farm in that place, with gardens of olive-trees, fig-trees, and vineyards, and he had a house on

each of the little hills, and servants to wait upon him and to feed his cattle ; so he used to live now in one of these houses, and now in the other, according to the time of year, and the fountain stood in the midst, and was used by both of the houses. Now, at the time when the blessed Virgin came to greet and to serve Elizabeth, they were dwelling in the house which stood on the lower ground ; but when the time came for her to bear John the Baptist, Elizabeth herself went up to the upper house, taking with her the blessed Virgin, her midwives and her maidservants ; but Zacharias stayed in the lower house with the men and the menservants ; for in the days of old men did not dwell in the house of pregnant women at the time of their child-bed.

THE PLACE WHERE ELIZABETH WAS GREETED BY THE BLESSED VIRGIN.

So, after we had drunk of the fountain of the blessed Virgin, we went on still with fasting stomachs to our left towards the first, or lower house of Zacharias. When we came to it, we found it fast shut. We knocked with stones, clubs and staves, but no one answered us. The young Saracens began to walk round about the house, searching for a place where they could climb the wall, and so open the door to us. Howbeit, there was after all a Saracen within the house, a beast rather than a man, who had pretended that he did not hear us, but who, when he saw the young Saracens who accompanied us searching for another way to get in, came down to the door and threw it open. He then stood in the doorway with a club, and his wife with a firebrand, and they took care that no one should come in before some money was given to them ; when it was given, he laid aside his rage and allowed us to enter. Straightway, as we began to enter, the precentor began to sing in a loud

voice the song of the most blessed Virgin Mary, '*Magnificat anima mea*', etc., and singing thus we came to the place where the Virgin Mary saluted Elizabeth, where John leaped for joy within her womb, where Elizabeth returned her greeting and prophesied, and Mary sang that sweetest of songs, full of the deepest mystery, every word of which is pregnant with some mighty meaning. In this place we fell on our knees in prayer and received plenary indulgences (††). Indeed, we felt singular joy in this place with the blessed Virgin Mary, who here by her greeting and sweet song openly published abroad the ineffable joy which through the greeting of the angel she had hitherto borne hidden and concealed in the depths of her heart. Moreover, both the children leaped and rejoiced in their mother's womb at the meeting of their mothers, even as also the two mothers were filled with unwonted gladness. In the heart of the most blessed Virgin Mary all the joy which she had received from the greeting of the angel was in this place renewed and, as it were, completed ; nay, if we may venture so to speak, she seems to have had a greater joy in this place : for when the angel greeted her at Nazareth, he said : 'Hail, thou that art full of grace, the Lord is with thee, blessed art thou among women' ; but Elizabeth cried aloud, 'Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb.' Now, we [b] know that the most blessed Virgin Mary loved the fruit of her womb incomparably more than she loved herself, and rejoiced more in His honour than in her own. The angel did but call her blessed, but Elizabeth proclaimed both her and the fruit of her womb to be blessed, and hereby increased the joy of the Virgin. For this reason we do not read that the blessed Virgin sang her song of gladness in answer to the greeting of the angel, but in answer to the greeting of Elizabeth she said with joy, 'My soul doth

magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced,' etc. It was therefore in this place that the greeting of the angel was finished and made perfect; and so we pilgrims received on this spot all the joy which we should have felt at Nazareth, whither we were unable to go, and in the words both of the angel and of Elizabeth we many times repeated *Ave Maria*, giving kisses to the Virgin even as Elizabeth greeted her and also kissed her. For the devout Bernhard says, 'It is as a kiss to thee, O Mary, to hear this angel's verse, *Ave Maria*, and thou art kissed as often as thou art greeted with an *Ave*.' In truth, at this greeting the heavens drop sweetness, the stars laugh, the angels rejoice, the world exults, the devils tremble, the powers of hell wither away, just men are glad, sinners gain hope. Hence among many men the custom has grown up of adding *Ave Maria* to the Lord's Prayer, wherever it occurs, even in the canonical hours; yet others say that this ought not to be done, because in the ordinaries and notes and rubrics there is no mention made of the *Ave Maria* when the *Paternoster* is appointed to be said.

Upon this subject I have heard that a dispute once arose between the abbots and canons of the church of Batavia (*sic*). The abbot wished always to have the *Ave Maria* added to the *Paternoster*, but the canons and clergy refused to do so, alleging that it was not appointed for them by the rubrics. At last, for the sake of peace and concord, the matter was laid before the Pope, who decided in the abbot's favour, on the affirmative side of the question, and ordained by a bull that *Ave Maria* should be said after *Pater Noster*.

It is only in our own time that an end has been put to the ancient custom of the saints, who used to pray to God with five *Paternosters*, and to salute the most blessed Virgin Mary with fifty *Ave Marias* frequently in the course

of their thanksgivings for the works of our redemption. This wholesome custom, which had almost fallen into disuse in our parts, has with great labour been renewed by that excellent doctor of divinity, Master James Sprenger, of the Order of Preaching Friars, and of the (Dominican) convent of Cologne. This master and I were, so to speak, foster children, having both taken the religious habit in the convent at Basle in the same year, and after a year had passed, having made our profession in the same schools, been trained under the same masters, and at this day we are intimate friends. My only reason for telling this is because I know that this venerable master hath been from his youth devoted to the Virgin Mary, and from his youth up until this present hath never ceased to magnify and extend the praises of the most glorious Virgin Mary. [191 a] He busied himself with the Holy Apostolic See about a bull of indulgences, and obtained one, wherein the Holy Lord, Pope Sixtus IV., granted great indulgences to all who say the aforesaid number of *Paternosters* and *Ave Marias* thrice a week. They called this prayer the 'Rosary of the blessed Virgin.' I have seen this bull, have read it through, and have made a copy of it. Some people repeat the aforesaid prayer thrice every day, and call it the 'Psalter of the blessed Mary,' and for them great indulgences are thereby obtained, once in life, and once in death. It is called a 'psalter' because, like as David's psalter hath three fifties, even so hath this. The first fifty is appointed for a thanksgiving for the incarnation and childhood of Christ; the second for His passion; and the third for His glorification. Others add yet another fifty, and repeat twenty *Paternosters* and two hundred *Ave Marias* every day; for they declare that the Book of Psalms is imperfect unless after the Psalm *Laudate dominum de canticis* be added the canticles of the New and Old Testa-

ments, and the hymns ; wherefore they add a fourth fifty for the canticles and hymns, that the psalter may be perfect. They give another reason for saying four fifties, namely, that it is no less fitting to bless the holy Virgin and the fruit of her womb for the most virtuous and perfect life of God, than for His incarnation, His death, and His glorification ; wherefore, in saying the first fifty they contemplate Christ's incarnation and childhood ; in the second His works and life ; in the third His passion and death ; in the fourth His resurrection and the glorification of Himself, of His mother, and of ourselves. Moreover, that this prayer may be more regular and less tedious, they have appointed each *Paternoster*, with its ten *Ave Marias*, to be a thanksgiving for some especial blessing which they have in their minds ; as, for example, they repeat the first *Paternoster*, with its ten *Ave Marias*, as a thanksgiving for the blessing of the incarnation ; the second *Paternoster*, with its ten *Ave Marias*, for the blessing of the nativity, the third for the blessing of the circumcision and the honour of the Name of Jesus ; the fourth for the offering of the kings ; the fifth for the blessing of the purification, because He was presented in the temple in the likeness of a sinner, and His mother was purified as though she were unclean : also for the flight to Egypt and the return from thence, and His humble attendance at school, and His obedience to His parents ; and this is the first fifty. They arrange the second as follows : they say the first *Paternoster*, with its ten *Ave Marias*, for the blessing of His baptism ; the second for His endurance of temptation in the wilderness ; the third for the choosing and calling of the disciples ; the fourth for His godly life, His clear doctrine, and His miracles ; the fifth for the institution of the sacraments, and especially for the blessing of the Eucharist, and so on. The third they arrange as follows :

the first for all the inward sufferings of Christ, His weepings and agony on the Mount of Olives ; the second for His capture and torment throughout the whole night ; the third for His accusation, His being sent to Herod, His scourging and coronation ; the fourth for His mocking, His leading forth, His crucifixion, and all that Christ did upon the cross while alive ; the fifth for His expiring, the piercing of His side, and His burial. They arrange the fourth fifty as follows : they repeat the first *Paternoster*, with its ten *Ave Marias*, as a thanksgiving for the glory of His resurrection ; the second for the splendour of His ascension ; the third for the gracious sending of the Holy Ghost ; the fourth in honour of the assumption of the blessed Virgin ; the fifth for His power as Judge and His righteous judgment. This prayer is devout and consoling when a man hath become accustomed to it.

Moreover, to the end that he might put down those who were jealous of the blessed Virgin Mary, and who denied the merit of these prayers, the aforesaid Master James appointed this whole matter of the rosary and the indulgences to be the subject for a public disputation in the University of Cologne, *in quodlibetis*, wherein it was proved that this prayer was innocent and useful, and most acceptable to the blessed Virgin. Let this suffice for my wanderings upon this subject.

THE PLACE WHERE ZACHARIAS SAID THE HYMN
‘BENEDICTUS.’

After we had staid awhile in the aforesaid place, we went up from the lower church by stone steps above a vault, where once a fair chapel stood, and as we went up we sang the hymn, ‘*Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel, quia,*’ etc., which hymn was composed by Zacharias when filled with the Holy Spirit at the circumcision of the child, as is

told in the first chapter of St. Luke's Gospel. Singing thus we came to the upper building, where was the chamber wherein Zacharias sate speechless, and where he asked for a tablet and wrote, 'His name is John.' There, also, his mouth was straightway opened, and he prophesied, saying and singing, 'Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for,' etc. So here we bowed ourselves to the earth in prayer, and received indulgences (†). At last, after we had risen from prayer, we betook ourselves to viewing the place, and on the left-hand wall we saw a large windowless (?) church, built for a barn. It was into this barn that Elizabeth thrust her infant, St. John the Baptist, and hid him, when the servants of Herod were running about that country seeking for children to slay them. It is even believed that they came into that very house to search for children, but when they saw two old people, Zacharias and Elizabeth, they did not suspect that there was any child with them, and quickly departed, and the child John remained unhurt. Howbeit, Albertus says in his commentary on Luke i. that Zacharias was slain there by Herod's people because he would not give up his son, as we shall see hereafter.

In this chapel there are broken altars and ruined vaults ; on the walls are ancient paintings, and both at the upper and the lower building shrubs and grasses grow upon the vaults. Some pods of a blue colour, like beans, grow there, and are found in no other place. Once there was here a fine and stately church, and monks dwelt in cells beside it ; but now, alas ! it has become the ruined home of one most miserable Saracen.

THE PLACE WHEREIN JOHN WAS BORN INTO THIS
WORLD.

From this place we went on our way, and came out back again to the aforesaid fountain. From the fount we

climbed up a steep place to a hill, and when we were on the top of it, we came to a large church, where we sang in a loud voice the hymn *Ut queat laxis.* This church is built on the place where John the Baptist, the Forerunner of the Lord, was born. Now, the actual birthplace of the Forerunner is on the left hand in a chapel of the choir, whose doorway is blocked up by the ruins of the walls. So we climbed up over the wall, and one pilgrim placed himself beneath another, so that he might climb over him on to the top of the wall, and get down on the other side upon the head and neck of another pilgrim ; and so we all got over the wall, and came into a dark chapel, wherein we could see nothing without lights. At the head of the chapel there is a grotto beneath a rock, wherein it is believed that the most holy Baptist was born. So we bowed ourselves down before this cave, kissed the place, received plenary indulgences (††), and were not a little consoled and gladdened, and in some sort strengthened in the faith ; for by reason of the merits of the Forerunner there breathes forth from that deserted cave a sweet and wholesome odour, whereby the holy Forerunner kisses and greets in his turn the land of his birth, kissed by pilgrims.

Indeed, had not God comforted us by this means, we should have been not a little sorrowful in that place because of the great desecration of so holy a place ; for the church, albeit lofty and vaulted, and still painted, yet stood full of cattle, asses, and camels, and there was nought therein save dung and filth, and a great stench, inasmuch as from being a holy church it has been turned into a stable for beasts. Round about the church were the ruins of many houses, wherein once dwelt clergy and servants of God ; but now there is only one wretched farmhouse in the place.

THE DESERT OF JOHN THE BAPTIST.

Beyond the valley is said to be the desert of John the Baptist, wherein he dwelt while yet a boy, as is told in Luke i. : ‘ And the child grew, and waxed strong in spirit, and was in the desert till the day of his showing unto Israel.’ Wherefore saith Jerome in his sermon, ‘ By the words “ Behold I send my messenger,” we must understand that messenger who, after leaving the refuge of his mother’s womb, sought out the secret parts of the desert, and played with serpents there as a child.’ This occurs in the sermon against the heretic Luciferianus. For in his fifth or seventh year he sought the desert, fleeing from the corruption of the world, and lived the life of a hermit for five-and-twenty years ; wherefore it is sung of him :

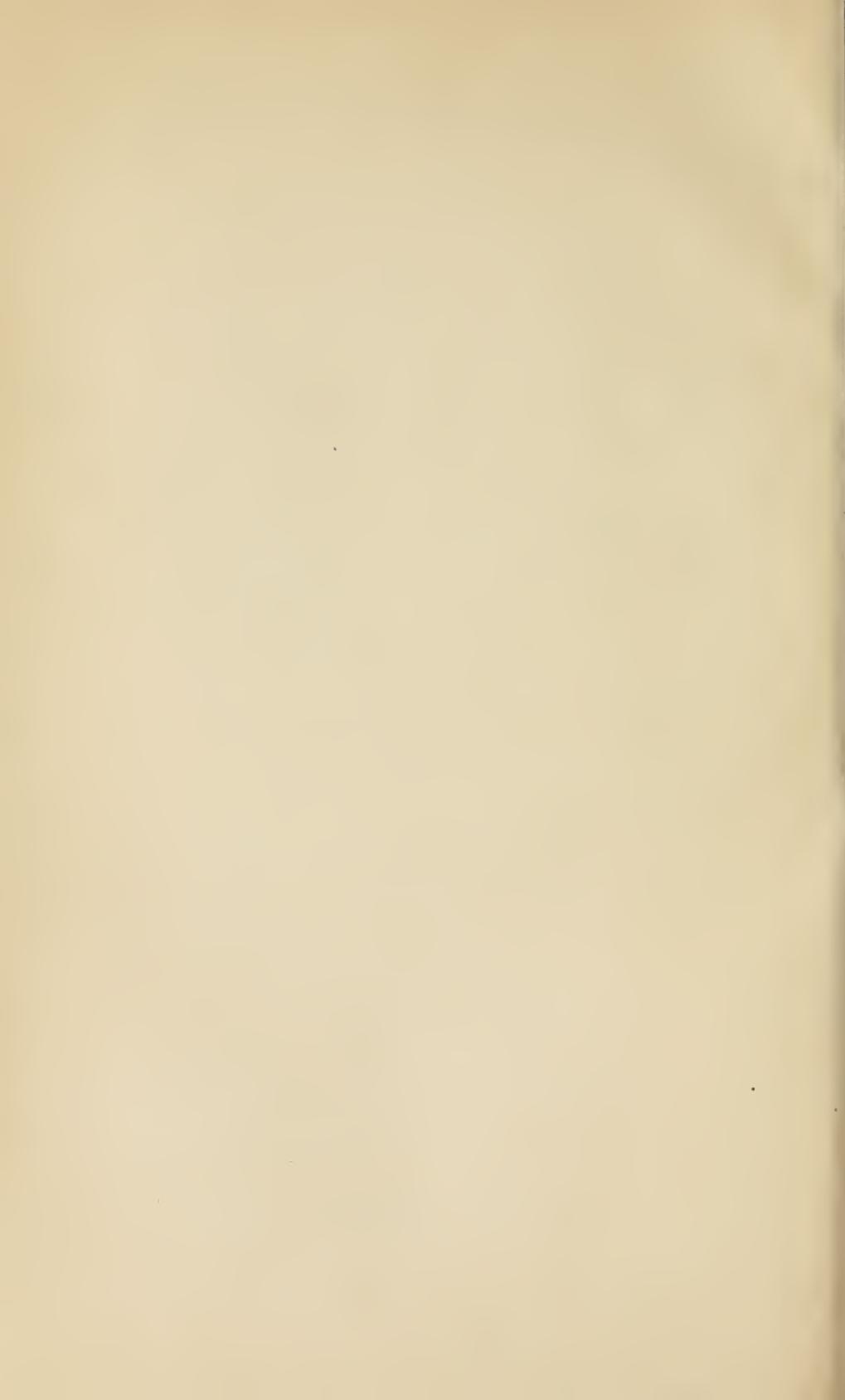
‘ While yet a child
Unto the desert wild
Thou fled’st, among its caves to pray and praise,
Leaving the throng
Of men, lest any wrong
Might mar the spotless tenor of thy days.

Indeed, according to Bernhard, reason urges, and justice prompts, a man to offer his whole being unto Him from whom he received it all ; and so to the end that he might keep clean the hands wherewith he was to touch Christ, the eyes wherewith he was to behold the Holy Ghost in the likeness of a dove, and the ears with which he was to hear the voice of God the Father, he left the world, entered into the desert, and sought its caves.

The venerable Albertus Magnus, in his sermon on the first chapter of St. Luke, on the verse, ‘ The child . . . was in the desert,’ etc., speaks as follows : ‘ Bede saith that John was in the desert ten years, and that he entered the desert at the age of ten years, and left it when thirty years

of age, as is clear from the third chapter of St. Luke.' But the Gospel of the Nazarenes tells us that when Herod was seeking for children to put them to death, John's father, Zacharias, was slain because he would not give up his son, but that his mother took her son from his aforesaid hiding-place, and with difficulty fled into the desert. When her pursuers were pressing her hard, so that she knew not where to hide the child, a rock in a mountain was rent and opened itself, and enclosed both herself and her child, so that the eagerness of those who sought her was brought to nought. Thereafter in a few years the mother died, and the child still abode in the wilderness, and, after the fashion of childhood, learned to eat locusts and wild honey which he found in the desert, as doth the ant. It is said likewise that the blood of his father, which was received into vases by the priests and kept in the temple, would always boil whenever anyone of the family of Herod appeared in the temple. Thus far Albertus. Howbeit, St. John the Baptist had two deserts, the first not far from his father's house, wherein the caves in which he dwelt as a young man are shown to this day ; the other beside the Jordan, wherein he preached to the people and baptized them. The former is spoken of in the first, and the latter in the third chapter of St. Luke.

END OF VOL. I.





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